TERTULLIAN
DE BAPTISMO

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Q. SEPTIMI FLORENTIS TERTULLIANI

DE BAPTISMO

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Q. SEPTIMI FLORENTIS TERTULLIANI

DE BAPTISMO

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

IT is to be hoped that a scholar possessed of the requisite ability and leisure may some day produce an edition of Tertullian's works worthy of the author.

The editor of the present Treatise can claim no such qualifications. He only hopes that this little edition may be of some use to students, until something better is available.

It would be ungrateful to let it go forth without acknowledging the constant and ready help which has been given in the preparation of it by two scholars, to whom most grateful thanks are due—the General Editor of the Series, and the Rev. A. Wright, D.D., Vice-president of Queens' College, Cambridge.

J. M. L.

MARLBOROUGH,
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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Date and Occasion of the* de Baptismo.

THIS treatise is the earliest extant work upon the subject with which it deals, and is therefore of the utmost value both to the historian of Christian doctrine and to the student of Christian antiquities.

The rite of Baptism, as it is presented to us in the New Testament[1], was of great simplicity. No special minister, as a rule, is mentioned, except that the Laying on of Hands which followed was on the only recorded occasions performed by an Apostle; it was administered immediately on conversion, with little or no previous instruction or discipline; and there is no mention of any other ceremony, beyond simple water-baptism and imposition of hands.

Passing on over the intervening century and a half, we find only scattered references till the appearance of Tertullian's work. A passage in the *Didache*[2] directs Baptism to be performed where possible in running water, and in the name of the Trinity. Previous instruction is assumed, but no definite time is assigned for the preparation, and fasting is required, before the rite, from the baptizer[3] and the baptized, 'and from any others who can.'

[1] Acts ii 38, 41; viii 12, 36, 38; x 47; xvi 15, 33; xviii 8; xix 5.

[2] § 7. We need not here discuss the date of the *Didache*.

[3] It has been inferred, perhaps without sufficient reason, from the expression ὁ βαπτίζων that the idea of a special minister is excluded.

About half a century before Tertullian wrote the *de Baptismo*, Justin Martyr addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius his *First Apology*. Justin describes the admission of converts, mentioning Baptism in the name of the Trinity with fasting and prayer, and prayers before the brethren assembled with their head, which may have been some form of Confirmation. Tertullian may have seen the *Apology*, but there is nothing in this treatise, or in his writings generally, which suggests a knowledge of the earlier work. We cannot but be struck with the power and originality of his book. They are great in any case, doubly great if he wrote in ignorance of what had been written before on the subject of Baptism[1].

There is, indeed, one work known to us by name, for which it can be argued with some show of probability that it came before Tertullian's treatise in the direct line of descent, and that is the *περὶ Λουτροῦ* of Melito of Sardes[2]. Melito wrote about the middle of the second century, and his work, if it had been preserved to us, would have been very valuable. But a study of the scanty fragments that are preserved leads me to the belief that Tertullian did not use it in writing the *de Baptismo*[3].

[1] Tertullian was, however, so confirmed a borrower that one or more works now lost may underlie the *de Baptismo*, and Harnack holds that he had 'carefully read' Justin's *Apology*, *Texte u. Untersuch.* i 132,

[2] Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iv 26.

[3] The arguments on the other side may be summarized as follows: (1) Tertullian knew him as an author, and says of him 'elegans et declamatorium ingenium'; (2) both were Chiliasts; (3) their views of life and of history are not dissimilar (cf. *Apol.* 5 and Melito *Fr.* iii); (4) their Christology is the same; (5) the passage about martyrdom in *de B.* xvi has been compared with the following passage in Melito: *Δύο γὰρ συνέστη τὰ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων παρεχόμενα, πάθος διὰ Χριστὸν καὶ βάπτισμα.* I admit their similarity of style, but I see nothing in Tertullian to resemble the poetical, turgid, and declamatory way in which Melito compares Baptism

If we may place the date of Tertullian's birth at 150—155, we should suppose him to have been a young man of 25 or 30 when the first persecution in Africa broke out under the Proconsul Saturninus. He was converted in middle life, about 190—195, and soon after wrote the (lost) *ad Amicum Philosophum.* He was probably ordained priest soon after, and wrote the *ad Martyres* about the beginning of 197, the *ad Nationes* 1 and 2 about the summer of that year, and the *Apology* and the *de Testimonio Animae* at the close of it. Between 198 and 203 comes a quinquennium of great literary activity. To it are assigned no fewer than thirteen works, on very various subjects, many of great importance. Arranged in tabular form, for convenience of presentation, they are:

de Spectaculis Lat. and Gk.	*ad Uxorem* 1 and 2.
de Cultu 1.	*de Idololatria.*
de Baptismo Gk. and Lat.	*de Praescriptione Haereticorum.*
de Paenitentia.	*adu. Marcionem* 1 and 2.
de Patientia.	*adu. Hermogenem.*
de Cultu 2.	*adu. Iudaeos*[1].
de Oratione.	

to the plunging of molten metal into water, till it comes out purged of dross. See Otto, *Corpus Apologet.* ix 418; Harnack and Gebhardt, *T. u. Unt.* i p. 251; C. Thomas, *Melito von Sardes*, esp. p. 52.

[1] I have followed Harnack's classification, *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* II ii, § 10, p. 268. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* II p. 366, cf. p. 347 sq., dates the *de B.* 200—206, so Monceaux, *Hist. Lit. de l'Afrique chrét.* 1901, p. 193 and d'Alès, *La Théol. de Tert.* p. xiii. Nöldechen, *D. Abfassungszeit d. Schr. T.'s*, Leipz. 1888, p. 154, dates it 194. Bonwetsch, *D. Schr. T.s*, esp. p. 30, note 10, and *Gesch. d. Montanismus* passim, does not date the work, but considers it early and Catholic, and to be classed with *de Oratione* and *de Paenit.* Benson, *Cyprian*, pp. 338, 348, considers it to be of the years 214 or 215, fourteen or fifteen years after T. became a Montanist. From what he holds about the date, no less than from what he says of its 'singularities and frivolities,' I entirely dissent.

Although the contrary opinion has been maintained, I consider the *de Baptismo* to be an early and pre-Montanist work. Further than that I should hesitate to go, except that I think it possible that Tertullian wrote an early (Greek) treatise on the Baptism of Heretics, and that our present work is an adaptation of it, worked over and added to, to suit the circumstances in which it was written. What those circumstances were, we must now inquire.

The necessity of Baptism with water was denied, among other Catholic beliefs, by a Gnostic prophetess whose name is now lost. She enjoyed the temporary appellation of Quintilla, owing to the prevalence of a false reading in ch. I; but, with the restoration of what is probably the true text, the proper name has disappeared from the passage. She belonged to what Tertullian called the *Caina* (or *Gaiana*) *haeresis*, which he mentions again in the *de Praescr. Haeret.* 33 as representative in his day of the 'Nicolaitans.' Jerome, if the spelling of Dom Martianay is to be trusted, calls it *Caina haeresis*. With an unmistakeable reference to a passage of Tertullian's *de Baptismo* he writes to Oceanus (*Ep.* lxxxii), 'En consurgit mihi Caïna haeresis; atque olim emortua uipera contritum caput leuat, quae non ex parte, ut ante consueuerat, sed totum Christi subruit sacramentum.' He accuses Vigilantius of reviving it: 'Scribit aduersum haeresim tuam,' he writes 'Tertullianus uir eruditissimus insigne uolumen, quod Scorpiacum uocat rectissimo nomine; quia arcuato uulnere in ecclesiae corpus uenena diffundit, quae olim appellabatur Caïna haeresis' (*adu. Vig.* p. 285). It will be observed that the language of Jerome, like that of Tertullian himself, would be specially appropriate if the heresy which he has in view was connected with that of

the Serpent-worshippers or Ophites, as was the case with those who were called Cainites. Assuming that this heresy which Tertullian wrote to combat was a branch of—or the same as—that of the Cainites[1], we may represent their particular form of Gnostic teaching to have been that there were two chief Powers, *Σοφία* the higher, and *Ὑστέρα* (= *uterus*) the lower. Eve bore Abel to the *Ὑστέρα* and to the *Σοφία* Cain, hence their name: they honoured Cain as the Instrument of Wisdom, also Ham, Esau, the Sodomites, Korah, and Judas Iscariot —the latter, either because by betraying our Lord he defeated His intention of destroying the Truth; or because, by compelling the rulers to put Christ to death against their will, he brought about the salvation of mankind. These heretics, holding, no doubt, in common with many Oriental schools, the inherent impurity of matter, denied (as it seems) the necessity of sacraments. Tertullian had, therefore, to support two positions: (1) the dignity and appropriateness of water, in itself; (2) that its use in Baptism is not only defensible, but necessary.

It is well to bear carefully in mind what the occasion of this treatise was, or the reader may be disappointed at not finding something in it which he had expected to be there. Let us see, in the next place, how he maintains his theses.

[1] See an article (by Dr Salmon) on 'Cainites,' *D.C.B.* i p. 380; where references are given for the very puzzling variations of the name. He discusses (and rejects) the theory, maintained e.g. by Dr Harnack, that there was a heresiarch Caius, and identifies the 'Gaiana haeresis' with the Cainites, in which view I have followed him. They seem to have belonged to the group of Gnostics called from their worship of the serpent *Ophites*, for which see Harnack, *Z. Quellenkritik d. Gnosticismus*, p. 58; Hilgenfeld, *d. Ketzergesch. d. Urchr.*, pp. 250, 263, 552; Gruter, *Ophiten*, § 2, p. 159; Kurz, *Ch. Hist.*, p. 111, E.T.[3] The identification rests on Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII xvii 108. A prayer of theirs is quoted by Iren. *c. Haeres.* i 31.

§ 2. *Analysis of the Treatise.*

The treatise may conveniently be divided into three parts, (1) chs. 1—9: (2) chs. 10—16: (3) chs. 17—end. The first part is doctrinal and general; the second deals with some particular questions which were under debate in his day; and the third deals with practical matters connected with the administration of the Sacrament.

I. chs. 1—9. *General and doctrinal.*

(1) He begins by asserting the necessity of writing, owing to the dangerous nature of the erroneous doctrine, and the risk that it may spread. Moreover, such teaching as he has to give will be of service, not only to catechumens, but to simple and unreflecting persons who are content with traditional beliefs. (2) The heresy about water rests on the fallacious assumption that God would not effect so marvellous a result by means so simple. This is really the reverse of the truth. Simplicity is characteristic of Divine operations: it is the worship of false gods which has to rely for its effect upon external magnificence. (3) The age and dignity of water should be considered. Water existed in a rude form at the beginning, was the chariot of the Holy Spirit, brought forth the first living creatures, was indispensable in the creation of man. (4) The same Holy Spirit who rested upon water at the Creation is present also at the waters of Baptism, and ever since water—all water, in general—has received through Him the power to sanctify. The use of water to cleanse the body is a type of its spiritual use to cleanse the soul from sin. (5) The use of water in heathen rites, though void of efficacy, is analogous, and shows how the Devil tries to give his votaries a colourable imitation of Christian Sacraments. It affords, indeed, an argument *a fortiori*: 'If water is believed to be efficacious by the worshippers of idols, how reasonable it is that the worshippers of the true God should credit it with Divine efficacy!' Further, if the angel at the pool of Bethsaida could heal the body of one man once a year, may not the angel of Baptism heal the souls of all nations at any time? Thus man is restored to the 'likeness of God.' (6) Water is

necessary, therefore, to Baptism, cleansing from sin, and preparing us to receive the Holy Spirit. (7) Unction follows next, whereof the O.T. is not without types. It anoints us to the priesthood, being a bodily action, but of spiritual efficacy. (8) Then the Imposition of Hands, whereby, through the blessing, the Holy Spirit is invited to descend, completes the rite. The Holy Spirit readily descends upon the consecrated waters, His ancient resting-place, as He did in the form of a dove at the Baptism of Christ. The mention of a dove suggests the Flood, and the lessons to be learnt from it. The Church is like the ark. Those who sinned after the Flood are reserved unto fire, which should be a warning to those who sin after Baptism. (9) Some further instances are given from both Testaments of the use of water in God's dealings with man, showing that, from the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites to the water which flowed from Christ's side upon the Cross, water has been ordained to religious use in the Divine economy.

II. chs. 10—16. *Particular.*

Having thus, as he says, 'spoken in general of the things which lay the foundation of Baptism,' Tertullian proceeds to discuss various particular questions connected with it, about which speculation was rife in his time :—what was conferred by the Baptism of John : whether our Lord Himself baptized : whether the Apostles were baptized : whether faith is not enough, without Baptism : whether heretical Baptism is valid ; and what is implied in 'The Baptism of Blood.' (10, 11) John's Baptism, he teaches, was preparatory : it could not give remission of sins or confer the Holy Spirit ; and, though we read that our Lord Himself did not baptize, He did so by His agents. (12) The Apostles had probably only received the Baptism of John : their nearness to our Lord made Baptism by Him superfluous. (13, 14) Arguments from the case of Abraham and from the language of St Paul are not insuperable : the former was under the Old Covenant, and the latter did baptize, if rarely. (15) Heretical Baptism is invalid, or 'One' Baptism has no meaning. (16) 'The Baptism of Blood' (i.e. martyrdom) was prefigured by the water and blood which flowed from our Lord's side : it gives Baptism to those who have never had it, and restores it to those who have lost it.

III. chs. 17—end. *Practical.*

The concluding chapters deal (17, 18) with the proper minister of the Sacrament, and the age at which it is best to receive it; (19) the canonical seasons for administering it; and (20) the proper preparation of the candidates.

§ 3. *Holy Baptism as it appears in Tertullian.*

We should have had abundant cause to be grateful to this writer if the treatise just analysed had been his sole contribution to our knowledge of Baptismal doctrine and practice at the close of the second century. But there are scattered references to the Sacrament in various parts of his writings, and three longer passages which, for the convenience of the reader, are here given in full. The first occurs in the *de Corona*, a work written probably in 201, a little later than the *de Baptismo*. In ch. 3 we read as follows: 'In Baptism, when we are about to come to the water, in the same place, but at a somewhat earlier time, we do in the Church testify, under the hand of a chief minister, that we renounce the Devil and his pomp and his angels. Then we are thrice dipped, answering somewhat more fully than the Lord hath prescribed in the Gospel[1]; then, some undertaking the charge of us[2], we first taste a mixture of honey and milk, and from that day we abstain for a whole week from our daily washing[3].'

[1] By which perhaps he means that the answers to the interrogations on our faith go a little beyond the baptismal formula.

[2] *Or*, being taken up out of the water.

[3] Denique, ut a baptismate ingrediar, aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius, in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid [amplius non aliquid, *al.*] respondentes quam dominus in euangelio determinauit. Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus, exque ea die lauacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus.

The next passage, written just before the author left the Church, occurs in the *de Praescr. Haeret.* 36. I borrow Dr Mason's translation[1]: 'Thence (*viz.* from the Holy Scriptures) she quaffs her faith; she seals it with the water, she clothes it with the Holy Spirit, she feeds it with the Eucharist, she exhorts it to endure even martyrdom itself, and she does not receive any in opposition to this doctrine[2].'

The third, also quoted by Dr Mason, is in the *de Res. Carn.* 8, a work composed after Tertullian had become a Montanist. 'The flesh is washed, that the soul may be rid of its stains; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is sealed (signed with the Cross), that the soul also may be protected; the flesh is overshadowed by the Imposition of the Hand, that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ, that the soul also may be made fat from God[3].'

Combining, therefore, the various notices of the Sacrament to be met with in his works, we may represent the baptismal rite of Tertullian's day to have been as follows:

The candidates were assumed to have received some previous instruction[4], and required to prepare for their Baptism by fasting, prayer, and vigil[5]—probably, though

[1] *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*[2], p. 62.

[2] Inde potat fidem, eam aqua signat, sancto spiritu uestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrium exhortatur, et ita aduersus hanc institutionem neminem recipit.

[3] Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur; caro manus impositione [impressione B] adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.

[4] Qui cum maxime formantur, *de B.* i, ueniant dum discunt, xviii.

[5] *ib.* xx.

the time is not stated, during the period which answered to our Lent: they are to confess their sins[1]—perhaps in public; but, owing to a difference of reading[2], the point is uncertain. Before Baptism there takes place the renunciation of the Devil[3], in the Church, and before the *antistes*—the Bishop, presumably. Sponsors were present[4]: the convert was immersed thrice[5] in the name of the Blessed Trinity[6], reciting some form of Creed[7], but we are not given its exact wording. No forms of exorcism or of consecration of the water[8] are to be found. Immediately on leaving the water came the Unction[9]; sealing with the sign of the Cross[10], and Imposition of the Hand[11]. The exact position of the 'lactis et mellis gustatio[12]' is uncertain, but probably it followed the Imposition. Nothing is said about the wearing or laying aside of any special vesture, e.g. white garments,—and it is doubtful whether reception of the Eucharist was part of the Baptismal ceremony or not[13]. Tertullian was inclined to recommend fasting after the reception of the Sacrament, but does not press the point[14], and mentions that abstinence from ordinary bathing was practised for a week[15].

1 *ib.* and *ad Mart.* 2. 2 *non* or *nunc*, *de B.* xx. 3 *de Cor.* 3.
4 *de B.* vi, xviii. 5 *de Cor.* 3; *adu. Prax.* 26; *de B.* ii.
6 *adu. Prax.* 26.
7 *de Cor.* 3; *de Veland. Virg.* 1; *de Praescr. Haeret.* 13.
8 Sanctificatio *s.* mundatio aquae: benedictio fontis: exorcismus aquae fontis. Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* lxx 1, 'Oportet uero mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere,' and *Ep.* lxxiv 5. Also Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* x 99, Λάβετε ὕδωρ λογικόν, if this is what is meant.
9 *de B.* vii; *adu. Marc.* iv 34.
10 *de Res. Carn.* 8, see Mason, *op. cit.* p. 63, note 1.
11 *de B.* viii; *de Praescr. Haeret.* 36. 12 *de Cor.* 3.
13 *de Res. Carn.* 8; *adu. Marc.* i 14, seem to imply that it was: *de Praescr.* 36 is ambiguous: *de Cor.* 3 seems definitely to separate them.
14 *de B.* xx. 15 *de Cor.* 3.

We are not told whether Baptism was usually administered in the open, or in a baptistery or font. I incline to think, from the mention of *in ecclesia*[1] and *ordinandis lauacris*[2], that some kind of baptistery is indicated, but the language in ch. iv shows that any water was recognised as equally valid.

The proper minister was the Bishop; failing him, a priest or deacon might baptize, with the Bishop's permission. Lay Baptism was not to be resorted to, except in case of necessity, and women were not to presume to baptize at all[3]. Baptism was rather to be deferred, than administered early, because of the danger of post-baptismal sin, especially in the case of unmarried persons[4].

The proper seasons for administering the Sacrament were Easter and Pentecost—but any time is good[5].

It may next be properly inquired what Tertullian considered to be the gift conveyed in the Sacrament. It conferred remission of sins[6], and cleansed the soul from the stain of sin[7]: man was re-created in water, and life given to him[8]: water, after blessing, sanctifies, cleanses, receives power to heal, saves all nations, does away with guilt and punishment, abolishes death; it restores man to the likeness of God, and gives him again the Spirit of God, which was breathed upon him at the Creation, but was lost through sin[9]. Baptism, i.e. the rite as a whole, confers upon us the Holy Spirit[10]: it is not to be repeated[11], and to refuse it in case of need may be to 'destroy' a man[12]. Lastly, martyrdom may take its place,

1 *de Cor.* 3. 2 *de B.* xix.

3 *de B.* xvii. This last restriction seems peculiar to Tertullian.

4 *de B.* xvii, cf. viii *ad fin.* 5 *de B.* xx; *Apol.* 3.

6 *adu. Marc.* i 28; *de Paen.* 6; *de Idol.* 12.

7 *de Pudic.* 9; *de B.* i and iv; *de Paenit.* 6. 8 *de B.* iii.

9 ch. v. 10 ch. viii. 11 ch. xv. 12 ch. xvii.

if it has not been received, or restore it, if it has been lost[1].

The reader will have observed that Baptism in the second century was a composite rite, and included what is now called Confirmation. Many of the expressions which Tertullian uses are doubtless to be applied to the Sacrament as a whole, but nevertheless he distinguishes clearly the effect of the separate parts of which it was composed. Baptism itself 'cleansed' and conveyed 'remission of sins,' but not of itself the gift of the Holy Spirit: that is definitely associated with the Imposition of Hands. There remains the Unction. If Tertullian's language in ch. vii is precise, it consecrated to the Christian priesthood[2].

Perhaps Tertullian might have readjusted some of his statements, if the question of the relation of Confirmation to Baptism had been definitely before his mind. But it was plainly all one rite in his conception, and there is no sign that he even knew that the parts of the Sacrament could be administered at separate times. Even so, his language about it is remarkably clear[3]. I have purposely omitted all reference to the word Regeneration, which is the point on which a modern reader is likely to consult his language. Probably, if the question had been put to him, whether the believer is born again in Baptism, and at what moment of the composite transaction, he would have expressed himself not doubtfully; but it was not in his mind when he wrote, and it is not fair to draw inferences from a writer's language when he is not, as it were, on his guard. I have given as carefully as I could

[1] ch. xvi.

[2] Not, of course, to the presbyteral order.

[3] Mason, *op. cit.* p. 64. See also d'Alès, *op. cit.* p. 327, note 1.

the actual expressions in which he states his doctrine of the grace of Baptism, and the reader may draw his own conclusions.

If, at first, this seems a disappointing admission to have to make about the evidence of the first great Christian writer on Christian Baptism, in respect of one of the most important controversies to which that Sacrament has given rise, I would plead that we ought rather to recognise with thankfulness the fulness of the doctrine which his work contains. When we consider how little we know of Baptism in the age preceding Tertullian, and contrast it with the fulness with which he has treated it, we cannot but admire the genius of the writer from whom, in the providence of God, we have learnt so much. Human elements there were, no doubt, in the progress which Christian thought is seen to have made by his time. Greek philosophy and heathen mysteries had contributed their share, though Tertullian may disclaim all use of the one in writing of religion, and speak but slightingly of the other. The natural ability and force of the man, his training as a rhetorician, his multifarious reading, and the practice in the courts which gave sharpness and precision to his language, were no mean factors in producing the result that we have seen. But, when allowance has been made for all these, we still feel that 'dat Deus incrementum.'

§ 4. *Influence of the* de Baptismo *upon subsequent writers.*

To discuss fully the influence of this treatise on subsequent writers is perhaps unnecessary. I shall attempt to do little more here than to put a few clues

into the reader's hands, which he may follow up or not as he sees fit.

It is natural to begin with Cyprian, of whom Jerome tells us that he was accustomed to call Tertullian his 'master[1].' His views with regard to Baptism may conveniently be studied in the work of Dr Mason to which reference has already been made, pp. 64—76.

For Jerome himself see, in addition to pp. 164—177 of the work just mentioned, the following references: *Ep.* lxix *ad Ocean.* 6 and 7, *Comm. in Ezech.* xxviii. Something may also be gleaned from O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben und Wirken*, Gotha, 1865, esp. p. 440, and Collombet, *Histoire de S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1844[2].

Isidore of Seville embodied large quantities of matter from Tertullian in his *Origines*. I have noted the passages from the *de Baptismo* as they occur, but the following list may perhaps be useful:

de Baptismo,	iv =	*Origines*	I vi 19. 49
„	vi	„	46
„	vii	„	51 and 52.
		„	vii 2. 2.
„	viii	„	vi 19. 54.
		„	vii 3. 22[3].

It is interesting to observe that in the age succeeding Isidore, the work of Tertullian was read and utilised by a group of scholars. Leidrad, Bishop of Lyons, Magnus, Bishop of Sens, Rabanus, Bishop of Mainz,

[1] *de Vir. Inl.* liii. See Cyprian *Epp.* lxiii 8; lxiv 3; lxix 11, 13, 14, 15; lxx 2, 3; lxxii 1; lxxiii 6, 9, 21; lxxiv 5, *ad Donat.* iii 4.

[2] From the point of view of this inquiry a disappointing work.

[3] See esp. Klussmann, *Excerpta Tertull. ex Isidoro.* I have also read through Don José Flaquer y Fraisse, *San Isidoro, su Influencia en la Filosofía de la edad media*, Madrid, 1858. It is written in an inflated style, and, among the list of authors given on p. 15 to whom Isidore was indebted, Tertullian is not even named.

all use expressions which are evidently drawn from this treatise. See Mason, pp. 215 foll.

After these Western writers, it remains to mention one whose works betray a very intimate acquaintance with the *de Baptismo* of Tertullian in a quarter where it was hardly to be expected—Didymus, the blind scholar of Alexandria. As there is little reason to suppose that Didymus was a Latin scholar, we must conclude that Tertullian's treatise was still accessible in its Greek form in the fourth century. See Mason, pp. 290—297, and Joh. Leipold *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandrien* in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 1903, xiv 3, which, though interesting in itself, is disappointing from this point of view.

See also Harnack in *Sitzungsber. d. Königl. preuss. Ak. d. Wissensch.* Berlin, 1895, pp. 561—579, and d'Alès *Théol. de Tert.* Appendice '*Tertullien devant les Pères*,' p. 499, where full references, and, in some cases, quotations are given.

§ 5. *Latinity and Style.*

A full account of Tertullian's Latinity and style would carry us beyond the appropriate limit of space. A list of authorities on the subject will be found in the Bibliography at the end of this Introduction. I propose to deal here with three points only, and with those but briefly: (1) 'African' Latin: (2) features peculiar to Tertullian: (3) points of interest in the *de Baptismo.*

(1) The problem of those who are engaged in the study of 'African' Latin is mainly this: elements which may fairly be called 'African' have to be separated off from those which were merely late, or not peculiar to Africa; and due allowance has to be made for the native

idiom—Berber, or whatever it may have been—and its influence on the vocabulary, syntax, and idioms of those to whom it was their native tongue, and who only learnt to write or speak Latin later.

The first of these objects of study demands good critical editions of the surviving literature, well indexed; and these are only gradually being produced. When a complete collection has been made, we may hope to say with greater certainty that particular words or idioms are 'African,' 'Gallic,' 'Spanish,' 'Italian,' or the like. At present such decisions are tentative and provisional. Mr Watson, in the article on Cyprian referred to below, thinks that the information to be derived from a study of the formal treatises on Rhetoric will prove valuable in this connexion.

The second of these questions requires acquaintance with a field of study at present little cultivated. The evidence available for a study of the native idiom of N. Africa—whatever it may have been—is scanty, and we have to fall back upon a vague category of 'Semitisms,' about which we may hope in time to know something more definite. I have noted a few below, but I feel no certainty that they came to Tertullian from his native tongue, and not rather from the Hebrew Scriptures, either directly, or through Greek or Latin Versions.

(2) The difficulty of estimating all this is increased in the case of Tertullian by his strongly marked individuality. He was a trained lawyer who had received a thorough rhetorical education. The number of authors whom he quotes, and the variety of subjects with which he deals, prove him to have been a widely-read man, of multifarious learning,

and good memory. In the course of his life he was a Stoic materialist, an orthodox Churchman, and a Montanist, and none of the three elements is without its effect upon his writings. He was a master of irony and invective, and possessed a certain biting wit, which is effective enough in its way. Suavity and gentleness are not conspicuous among his qualities, and yet an appeal like that with which this treatise ends goes far to soften the impression which his hard hitting and caustic irony would otherwise leave on the reader's mind. His style may attract or repel, but at least it is the style of a man of powerful and original mind, who was deeply in earnest, and meant what he said. Like Luther, whom he resembles in other respects than those of style, he was often earnest at the expense of proportion, and his obscurity is, like Luther's, that of a man who tries to make language bear more than it will carry, and not that of a man who, having little to say, lacks skill to say it clearly.

This is a question of more than merely literary interest. No one writer, except perhaps Augustine, has so powerfully influenced for good or evil the vocabulary and thought of the Christian Church in the West. And when so careful a writer as Dr Westcott can speak of 'Augustine's lamentable Africanism[1],' it is plain that the natural bias, so to speak, of a writer like Tertullian, is a factor of importance. For example; much of the usual conception of the doctrine of the Atonement, and much of the language in which it is commonly expressed, come in the first instance from him. He viewed the relation between God and man in the light of a legal transaction, and expressed it in terms of Roman law; and from the mingled clearness, hardness, and narrowness of such a

[1] *Religious thought in the West*, p. 246.

conception Christians have found it hard to set themselves free. Not only, therefore, must such words as *sacramentum*, *satisfacere*, and the like, be first divested of associations which have gathered round them since, but the student must try to estimate how far, in general, the clear-cut and precise phraseology of such a man as Tertullian is capable of expressing the many-sidedness of Christian truth. 'Life,' in Shelley's splendid image, 'like a dome of many-coloured glass, Stains the white radiance of Eternity'; and, in like manner, we may feel that of the many colours through which we of the Western Church have learnt to look at Divine Truth, that of the first great Father of the African Church is not the least vivid.

(3) Passing now to the *de Baptismo*, we may note the following:—

1. *Semitisms.*

Subs. and Gen. for adj. and subst. [Due to lack of adjectives in Semitic languages. Esp. common in Minucius Felix.]

Animal simplicitatis et innocentiae. viii.

2. *Graecisms.*

1. Capit used like ἐνδέχεται, with infin.
   Capit numerari. xv.
2. Habere with abstract noun like ἔχειν in the sense of to 'give rise to,'
   Iam tunc habuit quaestionem. x.
   With infin. = 'to be bound to.'
   Habes homo uenerari. iii.
3. Praeuenio with infin. like φθάνω.
   Praeuenerat descendere. v.
4. Sub like ὑπό, of the agent (*dub.*).
   Emundati sub angelo. vi.

   Per like διά, causal.
   Per imperitiam (δι' ἀπαιδευσίας). i.

5. Utpote with partic. like ἅτε[1].
   Utpote non intellegentes. x.

6. Sine like χωρίς, 'but for.'
   Sine resurrectione eius. xi.

7. Nullius...nisi like οὐδενὸς εἰ μή. xiii (*dub.*).

8. Quid custodiendum sit = τί φυλακτέον. xv.
   (*dub.* Perh. a survival of a former '*quae* c. s.').

9. Tunc = ὁ τότε.
   Pro condicione tunc temporis. xiv.

10. Teloneum = τελώνειον. xii.

3. *Legal Elements.*

Characteristic words are ago—ampliatio—arbiter—competo—defendo—extraneus—patrocinium—praescriptio—praetexo—praerogatiua—praesumo—procuro—repromitto—restauro—titulus.

The following references will repay examination—pp. 10. 14, 19. 1, 32. 5, 34. 2, 38. 4, 48. 4, 51. 9, where the writer clinches or supports an argument by a sentence of the law.

4. *Philosophy.*

Not much in evidence in this treatise. See, however, pp. 4. 15, 9. 6, 13.

5. *General.*

1. Affinities with the language of Comedy.
   exhibeo, p. 30. 11, perhaps also deputare (very common) and cum causal with indic. xii.

2. Loose use of pronouns.
   iste = hic. i, v, xv.
   quisque = quisquis. v.
   eiusmodi used as a substantive. xii.

[1] Perhaps this should not be included, cf.
Populus numerabilis utpote paruus. Hor. *A. P.* 206.
which is much the same use.

3. Well-known tendencies of silver Latin are shown in such forms as
    - uectaculum. iii.
    - probabilis. i.
    - habilis. xix.
4. Pleonasm of conjunctions,
    - quamquam etsi. xiv.
5. Epexegetic infinitive, extended use of,
    - after *facilis*. iv.
    - after *concipio*. iv.
6. Present participle, extended use of,
    - discentes. xvii.
    - aduersantes *with* gen. xii.
    - credentes. xiii.
7. Prepositions.
    - de *instrumental*. xix.
    - sub *instrumental*. vi, but see 2. 4 above, Graecisms.
    - penes=apud. (*passim*.)
    - circa='in the matter of.' xviii.

Many words are used in a somewhat peculiar sense—e.g. atquin, utique, reuoluo, uena, denique, adeo, omnino, quatenus, for which the student should consult the Index.

Reference should be made, finally, to the *pithiness* and *terseness* of the style, due largely to its unperiodic nature, of which ch. iv *fin.* and v *init.* are good examples. To it are due such epigrammatic phrases as Ubi tres ibi Ecclesia; Episcopatus aemulatio schismatum mater est; Dei dignatio suas praemittit praerogatiuas; Exempto reatu eximitur et poena; Spiritus dominatur, caro famulatur; and the like.

§ 6. *Biblical Quotations.*

The *de Baptismo*, like other treatises of Tertullian, is full of quotations from the Bible; and their character is such as to lead the reader to consider from what source they were derived.

The history of the pre-Hieronymian Latin texts is not yet satisfactorily cleared up. As the evidence to

be derived from Tertullian is both important and exceptionally puzzling, it may be well to state here some of the factors in the problem.

It is practically certain, in the first place, that by the time of Cyprian (c. 250) there was in circulation at Carthage a recognised Latin Version whose characteristics we are able to determine.

If, now, we examine the evidence of Tertullian, we are confronted by two difficulties—the uncertain state of the text, and his method of quoting. The first of these difficulties is in process of removal. An example will be given shortly of the way in which it affects inferences from his quotations.

As regards his method of quoting, we have in each case to decide (*a*) whether we have before us a direct citation; (*b*) whether it is a quotation from memory, inaccurately retained; or (*c*) whether it is a free allusion or adaptation of some passage of Scripture.

A glance at Rönsch (*Das N. T. Tertullians*) will show that Tertullian quotes the same text in different forms in different treatises, sometimes even in the same treatise. The first inference from this is that Tertullian did not quote from any recognised text, but translated for himself from the Greek—possibly from the Hebrew.

We may, I think, dismiss the idea that he used a Hebrew Testament. To take one example: in *de Bapt.* viii he says (speaking of the crossing of Jacob's hands when he blessed Ephraim and Manasseh) 'transuersim obliquatis in se,' which shows that he understood שִׂכֵּל as the LXX did (ἐπέβαλεν...ἐναλλάξ). It is more likely that he either translated from the LXX, or followed a Latin text made from the LXX, than that he independently hit upon the same interpretation[1].

[1] Cf. also his treatment of Jer. xxxi 8 in *de Bapt.* xix.

Can we, now, go a stage further, and decide whether he made his own translation from the Greek, or whether he had some Latin Version before him? It seems probable that the latter was the case. For instance: in *de Pudic.* 13 *init.* he has occasion to quote 2 Cor. ii 7, and his quotation presents *ut* c. *infin.* for *ὥστε* c. *infin.* So able a writer of Latin would hardly, we may feel sure, have adhered so slavishly to the Greek idiom, unless he had been quoting from some version whose authority he to some extent recognised.

Similarly, in the *adu. Prax.* he quotes the words *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* several times, and always in the form '*Sermo* caro factus est,' although in ch. 5 he states his personal preference for '*Ratio.*'

It must be admitted that the force of this latter illustration is weakened by the fact that in quoting the same words in the *de Carne Christi* he uses with equal consistency '*Verbum* caro factum est.' Corssen[1] would go further than this, and maintain not only that Tertullian was faithful to 'a received Latin Version,' but that it presented a text already 'mixed,' and had therefore been long enough in existence to have become subject to 'levelling' tendencies.

I doubt whether this can, as yet, be regarded as proved. To take one instance, 2 Cor. iv 17 is quoted twice, *Scorp.* 13 and *de Res. Carn.* 40. Corssen argues that, because both quotations give *ad praesens* and *temporale* as a rendering of *τὸ παραυτίκα*, therefore the text must be mixed. But in *Scorp.* 13 the Vienna editors have removed *ad praesens* from the quotation, and I do not think it is impossible to do so, though

[1] *Zwei neue Fragmente der Weingartner Propheten-Hdschr.*, Berlin, 1899, p. 48.

it is certainly less easy, in *de Res. Carn.* 40, where Kroymann still reads it.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the nature of the questions upon which the evidence of Tertullian may be examined, and the peculiar difficulty of dealing with it. It may be useful to the student if I collect here the O.T. quotations which occur in the *de Baptismo*, referring to Rönsch for those from the N.T.

O.T. Quotations.

Gen. i 1, 2. In *primordio fecit* Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat *inuisibilis* et *incomposita*, et tenebrae erant super *abyssum* et spiritus *Domini* super aquas ferebatur. iii.

(*inuisibilis* also Iren. i 18. 1 : LXX *ἀόρατος*. Qu. תֹּהוּ falsely derived from טוּחַ ?)

6—10. Referred to, but not quoted, iii.

Gen. i 26, 27, ii 7, Wisd. ii 23. Ita restituetur homo ad similitudinem eius, qui retro ad imaginem Dei fuerat.

Gen. viii 11. Referred to, but not quoted, viii.

Gen. xlviii 14. *Intermutatis* manibus. viii. [See also above, p. xxxi.]

Ex. xiv 28. Referred to, but not quoted, ix.

Ex. xv 25. Freely adapted, ix.

Ex. xl 13. Referred to, but not quoted, vii.

Ps. cxxxii 2. Referred to, but not quoted, vii.

(*Note*, Ps. ii 1 is quoted in ch. vii from Acts iv 27, and is therefore not included here.)

Is. vii 9. Non *intellegentes*, quia non credentes. x.

LXX *ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε* (no variant).

Vulg. Si non credideritis, non *permanebitis*.

(Vulg. right : LXX evidently did not understand the paronomasia.)

Is. xl 3. Adapted or referred to, vi.

Jer. xxxi 8. Et congregabo illos ab extremis terrae *in die festo* (agrees with LXX B against Q marg. and Vulg. See note *in loc.* ch. xix).

Mal. iii 1. Praeparabit uiam meam. vi.

Wisd. ii 23. Cf. quotation from Gen. i 26 above.

N.T. Quotations.

For the N.T. quotations reference may be made to Rönsch. The most interesting are

Joh. v 4, where Bethsaidam is read, ch. v ;

Acts ix 11, where *Simon* hospes is read, by a curious mistake, ch. xviii.

§ 7. *Text and Editions.*

The *de Baptismo* is one of those treatises of Tertullian of which no MS is now known to exist. The text depends, therefore, upon the earliest printed editions and the labours of subsequent scholars. The *de Baptismo* rests primarily on the three following:

(1) *Martin Mesnart*, Paris, 1545.

'Haec uero sequentia opuscula nunc primum eduntur in lucem beneficio Joannis Gangneii[1] Parisini theologi et Christianissimi Galliarum Regis primi eleemosynarii, ex uetustissimo codice[2] desumpta.'

(2) *Sigismund Gelenius*, Bâle, 1550.

In the preparation of this edition, Gelenius says that he had the advantage of a 'liber longe incorruptissimus, ex coenobio ultimae Britanniae Masburensi petitus,' which was lent to him by John Leland the antiquary (see below).

[1] Joh. Gagny, or Gainy, Almoner of Francis I and Chancellor of the University of Paris, died in 1549. The name of Martin Mesnart is contained in an acrostich.

[2] 'Wie die genaue Vergleichung lehrt, war wahrscheinlich eine der von dem Herausgeber benutzten HSten zwar *mit dem Agobardus verwandt, aber nicht mit ihm identisch*.' Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* i p. 677. The *Codex Agobardinus*, the oldest and best MS of Tertullian, on vellum, of the IXth cent. at Paris (no. 1622), is so called from its first possessor, Agobard, Bp of Lyons.

(3) *Jacobus Pamelius*, Paris, 1579.

Important from the use made of a MS belonging to John Clement, which has since disappeared. It does not, however, seem to have contained the *de Baptismo*.

In preparing this edition I have in the main followed the text of the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Eccl. Latinorum*, in which series Pt I of Tertullian appeared in 1880 under the editorship of A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, and I have recorded in the commentary the suggestions of W. von Hartel, Klussmann, Kroymann, Gompertz, and J. van der Vliet, besides making a few suggestions of my own. Pt III of the Vienna edition appeared in 1906, with Kroymann as editor. His Introduction is valuable.

Oehler's work, of which I have used the edition in 3 vols. Leipzig, 1853, is indispensable to the student, and I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to it. It is not entirely satisfactory. The Index is defective, and many of the references are wrong, and it not seldom happens that more information is found in a note upon which one has lit by accident, than by turning up all the examples referred to in the Index.

Dodgson's[1] translation, published in the *Library of the Fathers*, Oxford, 1854, is deserving of praise. If I have mentioned it sometimes only to differ, I would here record my gratitude to it, and not least for its valuable notes.

If any reader of Tertullian can discover the MS which John Leland lent to Gelenius, he will render a service to students of our author. It is not certain to what 'coenobium Masburense ex ultima Britannia' refers. Prebendary Wordsworth has suggested to me

[1] He was Rector of Croft, and father of C. Lutwidge Dodgson, familiar to us under the pseudonym of 'Lewis Carroll.'

that it might possibly be Mexborough[1], near Rotherham, in Yorkshire (but there is not known to have been a *coenobium* there), or Meux Abbey, near Beverley (for which, however, the usual Latin is *Melsa*). I have long wondered whether it might not be our Wiltshire Malmesbury, which, however, Leland generally calls *Meldunum*. This had a large and ancient library, and such a book as Tertullian *de Baptismo* may well have been in it. Dr M. R. James, the Provost of King's, tells me that I may consider this conjecture practically certain. He has been kind enough to look into the matter, and his reasons for thinking so may be thus summarized: (1) Leland visited Malmesbury, and has left[2] a list of the books which he saw there: the last but one is *Tertullianus*. (2) Tertullian was an author rarely found in England. (3) William of Malmesbury had read the *Apology*, and further research may show that he knew the *de Baptismo* also. As regards the form of the name, Dr James thinks that Leland, when writing to a foreigner, may have substituted for the *Meldunum* of his elegant style a form nearer the English—*coenobium Malmesburiense*. Gelenius, not being familiar with our English place names[3], may have got this into *Mamsburiense* and then *Māsbur(i)ense*. Whether Leland had any business to lend such a treasure to the scholar at Bâle[4], whether Gelenius ever returned it[5], whether it may still be

[1] *al.* Masbryhe, *s.* Merexbrugh, *s.* Masbrugh, *s.* Masbrough, *s.* Mexburgh.

[2] *Collectanea*[2], 1770, iv p. 157.

[3] Dr Harnack says (*G. d. altchr. Litt.* i p. 653) this MS came from 'Kloster *Masburne*'; but I think this must be an oversight.

[4] Gelenius, the friend of Erasmus, though born at Prag, lived, married, and died at Bâle († 155⅘). He supervised Froben's press there, and corrected proofs for him.

[5] Leland died insane two years after the Bâle edition of Gelenius was first

found among the collections of that pleasant town which has rendered so many services to the cause of learning, or whether it has suffered at the hands of the butterman the fate of so many other MSS, are questions on which at present I can throw no light.

§ 8. *Bibliography.*

In drawing up the following list, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, I have purposely omitted what may perhaps be called obvious sources of information, and have selected rather those which are more likely to be overlooked. A few of the most important are marked with an asterisk, and in some cases I have added a word of comment, which may be useful as a guide. The date is in many instances an indication of work which has now been superseded. Most of the books named have been examined by me at one time or another. As many of them were not in the Cambridge University Library, nor in the British Museum, I availed myself when last at Bonn of a courteous permission given me by the University Librarian to examine them in the library there. I have added the British Museum press-mark to several for ease of reference.

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[1] I had hardly written this, when I read in *The Times* of his death. Not Austria alone will mourn so accomplished a scholar and so charming a man.

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Rönsch, H., see next §.

[1] Incomplete. The publishers wrote at my request to Dr K. to ask if there was any prospect that he would complete the work, but he is too busy.

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Note on the *Apparatus Criticus*.

Except where otherwise noted, the text is that of Reifferscheid and Wissowa, Vienna 1890. Where their text differs from that of Oehler, Leipzig, 1853, the difference is indicated.

It will be seen that I have returned to Oehler's notation of A for Mesnart, B for Gelenius &c. The Vienna editors, having used A to denote *Codex Agobardinus*, in the Treatises where it is available, were not at liberty to use it for Mesnart here. I hope that the possibility of confusion will be outweighed by the convenience of using A for the earliest edition and B, *a*, *b*, for those next in order. In the textual notes

A denotes the *editio princeps*, Martin Mesnart, commonly attributed to Gangneius, Paris, 1545.
B „ the edition of Sigismund. Gelenius, Bâle, 1550.
a „ „ „ Iac. Pamelius, Antwerp, 1579[1].
b „ „ „ Nic. Rigaltius, Paris, 1634.
O „ „ „ Fr. Oehler, Leipzig, 1853, 3 vols.
R „ „ „ Reifferscheid and Wissowa, Vienna, 1890.
I „ suggestions made by Franciscus Junius.
K „ „ „ Kroymann.
L „ „ „ Latinus Latinius.
S „ „ „ Josephus Justus Scaliger.
U „ „ „ Fulvius Ursinus.

[1] In one place (p. 41. 4) I have used *Pam.* for this, to avoid possibility of confusion.

DE BAPTISMO.

I. Felix sacramentum aquae nostrae, quia ablutis delictis pristinae caecitatis in uitam aeternam liberamur! non erit otiosum digestum istud, instruens tam eos qui cum maxime formantur, quam et illos qui simpliciter credidisse contenti

Title + aduersus Quintillam liber a. 1 qua abluti Ub.

I. *The value of a Treatise on the Sacrament of Baptism—occasion of the present work, the* Caina haeresis *—cruelty of those who would deny water to Christian 'fishes.'*

1. **felix sacr. aquae**] Cf. a somewhat similar sentence, p. 43. 4, below, with something of the effect of a refrain, and see note there.

ib. **sacramentum**] There is a convenient sketch of the meaning of this word in Bethune-Baker *Early Hist. of Chr. Doctrine* pp. 376, 377, and note 2. It was used in the O.L. Bible as the equivalent of *μυστήριον*; hence, to its original sense of 'oath,' 'sacred obligation,' was added the new sense of 'mysterious or holy ordinance, or thing.' It was used of various things connected with God and Revelation, and of various acts symbolical of them, as being at once holy and 'mysterious,' i.e. full of meaning to the initiated. This explains its use, e.g., in speaking of the O.T. Scriptures. Cf. Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* ii 3, p. 138, note 1, E.T., and d'Alès *La Théol. de Tert.* p. 321. (Probst *Sacramenta und Sacramentalia*, 1872, takes a somewhat different view.)

3. **digestum**] usual word in Tertullian for 'treatise,' cf. p. 42. 10, below. Many examples are given in Oehler on *ad Natt.* ii 1, and *adu. Marc.* iv 5.

ib. **istud**] *Iste* is common in Latin of this period for *hic* and sometimes *ille* (Koffmane *Geschichte d. Kirchenlateins* 1 ii, p. 137), cf. p. 14. 5, below. So in the *Te Deum* 26, 'Dignare, domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire': and Augustine prayed, as he approached Canterbury in procession, that God would be pleased 'auertere iram a ciuitate ista' (Bede *H.E.* i 25).

4. **formantur**] Dodgson (Translation of Tertullian[2], Oxford, 1854) translates 'who are most perfectly informed.' Perhaps 'who are specially under instruction' would be better, because, whatever the exact shade of meaning of *formari* may be, the words and the tense imply a continuous progress, as opposed to the 'simpliciter credidisse' with which they are contrasted.

ib. **credidisse**] absolute, of the Christian belief (Koffm. *op. cit.* 1 i § 21, p. 52).

non exploratis rationibus traditionum intemptatam probabilem fidem per imperitiam portant. atque adeo nuper conuersata istic quaedam de Caina haeresi uipera uenenatissima doctrina sua plerosque rapuit, inprimis baptismum destruens. plane secundum naturam. nam fere uiperae et aspides ipsique reguli serpentes arida et inaquosa sectantur. sed nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθύν nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salui sumus. itaque illa monstrosissima, cui nec integre quidem docendi ius erat, optime norat pisciculos necare de aqua auferens.

1 intentatum b. 3 Caiana ab Migne, Gaiana OR. 5 ferae AB, fere Lab. 7 nascamur AB, nascimur a. 8 itaque illa A, ita Quintilla Bab. 9 integrae IR, integre *cett.*

1. **intemptatam**] Rigalt would read 'in temptatum,' which he renders 'carry with them into temptation,' i.e. the temptation to which a faith resting on such insecure foundations would be exposed. It improves the construction of *portant*, but is not otherwise convincing.

ib. **probabilem fidem**] 'a right and proper faith': perhaps, however, the word 'probabilem' is a gloss.

2. **nuper conuersata istic**] 'lately dwelling in these parts,' Dodgson. It is, I think, a fair inference from this expression and the *norat* of l. 10 that the *uipera* had left before Tert. wrote. Otherwise, *conuersata* might have meant, like κατῴκησεν, 'has come to sojourn.' For *istic* see note on p. 1. 3, above.

3. **de Caina haeresi**] See Introd. p. xiv.

ib. **uipera uenenatissima**] Our author had considerable powers of abuse: cf. l. 8, and p. 48. 8, below.

6. **reguli serpentes**] 'basilisks.' So called 'ut quodam diademate insignes,' Pliny *H. N.* viii 21. Hence, perhaps, *ipsi* 'even'—as kings of serpents.

ib. **arida**] Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* 76, *ad Magn.* 'Scorpii et serpentes, qui in sicco praeualent, in aquam praecipitati...' etc. and *Ep.* 69. 15. Isid. *Orig.* xii 4 'Reguli autem, sicut scorpiones, arentia quaeque sectantur, et, postquam ad aquas uenerint ibique aliquem momorderint, ὑδροφόβους et lymphaticos faciunt.'

ib. **pisciculi**] An allusion to ἸΧΘΥΣ. Cf. *de Res. Carn.* 52 'piscium quibus aqua baptismi sufficit.'

7. ἰχθύν] The word is formed by the initial letters of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, as explained by Optatus iii 2 and Augustine *de Ciu. Dei* xviii 23. See d'Alès *op. cit.* p. 324, note 3.

8. **itaque illa**] This was the reading of the *editio princeps*. Gelenius in his edition altered the reading to *Ita Quintilla*. Whether this was his own conjecture, or derived from the lost *codex Masburensis* (Introd. p. xxxv), or a suggestion of John Leland, who lent him the MS, cannot now be determined. A prophetess of this name (or Priscilla, Epiphanius did not feel certain which) is mentioned by Epiphan. *Haeres.* 49 as the originator of a heretical sect known as Quintilliani, Priscilliani, Pepuziani, or Artotyritae.

9. **integre**] Kroymann (*Quaest. Tertull.* p. 73) prefers this to the *integrae* of Fr. Junius, which he

II. Sed enim quanta uis est peruersitatis ad fidem labefactandam uel in totum non recipiendam, ut ex his eam impugnet, ex quibus constat! nihil adeo est quod obduret mentes hominum quam simplicitas diuinorum operum quae in actu uidetur et magnificentia quae in effectu repromittitur: ut hic quoque, quoniam tanta simplicitate, sine pompa, sine apparatu nouo aliquo, denique sine sumptu, homo in aquam demissus et inter pauca uerba tinctus non multo uel nihilo mundior resurgit, eo incredibilis existimetur consecutio aeternitatis. mentior, si non e contrario idolorum sollemnia

3 quod obduret ABaO, quod tam Ub, quo obduret I. 5 uidentur ABaO, uidetur Ub. 6 hinc AO, hic Bab. 8 aquam I, aqua *cett.*

calls 'pessima coniectura.' Women were not allowed to teach at all, 'ne integre quidem, i.e. recte: nedum peruerse.' Cf. *ad Uxor.* ii 1 'Quod si integre sapis.'

ib. **docendi**] 1 Tim. ii 12. Cf. p. 48. 11, below.

II. *Unbelievers reject Baptism for the very reason for which they ought to accept it—because they think it incredible that God should effect so much by such simple means. Nothing, in reality, is so characteristic of Divine operations. The more inadequate the means, the more signal the power that works through them. Idol-worship, on the contrary, relies much on outward splendour and magnificence.*

3. **adeo est quod obduret**] Hartel (*Patristische Studien* iv, p. 6) rejects the proposal to insert *tam*, and also the proposal to read *est quod adeo*, on the ground that they are obviously dictated by a desire to soften the ruggedness of the Latinity.

ib. **obduret**] neuter in classical Latin. The active sense (i.q. indurare) is later.

5. **repromittitur**] means, in legal Latin, to give a present pledge or guarantee for the future fulfilment of a promise. So here the 'simplicitas quae in actu uidetur' is an earnest of the 'magnificentia' to come. See, for the eccl. use of the word, Koffm. *op. cit.* 1 i, p. 58.

6. **hic quoque**] a special case of the general principle just enunciated.

8. **inter pauca uerba tinctus**] *Tinguo* is one of the words (like *similitudo* for *parabola*, *bene nuntiare* for *euangelizare*) which were being introduced to replace loan words from the Gk—much as 'Fahrkarte' and 'Zugführer' are being used now for 'Billet' and 'Conducteur' in modern German (Koffm. *op. cit.* 1 i, p. 21). It would be interesting if we could recover the 'pauca uerba,' but this cannot be done with certainty. The baptismal formula was considered too sacred to be committed to writing (Cyprian *Testim.* iii 50: Pet. Chrysol. *Serm.* 59: Aug. *Serm.* 212: Jerome *contr. Ioan. Hieros.* Migne xxiii 580: Rufin. *in Symb. Apost.* § 2). With this passage should be compared *de Cor.* 3 'Denique ut a baptismate ingrediar, aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius. dehinc ter mergitamur amplius aliquid respondentes quam dominus in euangelio determinauit.'

uel arcana de suggestu et apparatu deque sumptu fidem et auctoritatem sibi extruunt. pro misera incredulitas, quae denegas deo proprietates suas, simplicitatem et potestatem! quid ergo? nonne mirandum et lauacro dilui mortem? atquin eo magis credendum, si, quia mirandum est, idcirco non creditur. qualia enim decet esse opera diuina, nisi super omnem admirationem? nos quoque ipsi miramur, sed quia credimus. ceterum incredulitas miratur, non credit. miratur enim simplicia quasi uana, magnifica quasi impossibilia. et sit plane ut putas, satis ad utrumque diuina pronuntiatio praecucurrit. stulta mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientiam eius, et praedifficilia penes homines facilia penes deum. nam si deus et sapiens et potens, quod etiam praetereuntes eum non negant, merito in aduersariis sapientiae potentiaeque, id est in stultitia et inpossibilitate, materias operationis suae instituit;

1 de quo A, deque B. 4 atquin eo magis credendum si A, credendum, si Bab. 5 creditur. Atquin eo magis credendum est qualia A, creditur. Qualia B *cett.* 15 in possibilitate A, impossibilitate B, inpossibilitate R.

1. **de**] instrumental. See Introd. p. xxx.

ib. **suggestu**] 'equipment,' 'adornment,' 'splendour,' as often in Tertullian, e.g. *de Cor.* 13 'In the Revelation of John we are withheld even from dwelling in this Babylon; much more from her *pomp* (nedum a *suggestu*).' Further examples may be found in Oehler's note there.

2. **extruunt**] *Struo* is commoner in this sense, and *struunt* may be the right reading here, *ex* being parasitic. The effect of the parasitic *e* in the Romance languages is well known (Koffm. *op. cit.* I ii p. 109); but cf. *de Spect.* 10 'Cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum extruxisset' ('had built up that stronghold of every vice,' i.e. Pompey's theatre), and Cic. *de Fin.* V xxiv 71.

4. **et**] 'read *est*,' Gompertz *Stud. Tertull.* p. 42. Surely *et* has more force.

ib. **atquin**] See for the use of this word in Tertullian Oehler on *de Fuga in Persec.* 6, and Woodham on *Apol.* 2, p. 6, note 5.

5. **idcirco non creditur**] Cf. the famous 'certum est, quia impossibile est,' *de Carn. Chr.* 5.

8. **incredulitas**] Koffm. *op. cit.* I i, p. 53, § 21. The word has hardly any existence outside Christian literature.

10. **praecucurrit**] Cf. p. 14. 2, below.

11. **stulta...eius**] 1 Cor. i 27. Note the variation of *sapientiam* from τοὺς σοφοὺς (Vulg. sapientes). No MS reads τὰ σοφά for τοὺς σοφούς, the masc. standing alone in marked contrast to the rest of the verse.

12. **praedifficilia**] Cf. Lk. xviii 27.

14. **aduersariis sapientiae**] 'the opposites of wisdom.' I do not know any example quite like this.

15. **materias**] defined by Cic. *de Inu.* I v 15 'Materiam artis eam

quoniam uirtus omnis ex his causam accipit, a quibus prouocatur.

III. Huius memores pronuntiationis tamquam praescriptionis, nihilominus quam stultum et impossibile sit aqua reformari tractamus. quid utique ista materia tantae dignationis meruerit officium? ut opinor, auctoritas liquidi elementi exigenda est. atquin plurima suppetit et quidem a primordio.

3 praenuntiationis A*mg*. scriptionis A, praescriptionis A*mg* Bab. 4 'quam non *fort.*' R. a qua A, aqua B. 5 tractamus AB, tractemus b. et ante A, ante *Amg*, tantae Bab. 6 alimenti A, elementi B.

dicimus in qua omnis ars, et facultas quae conficitur ex arte, uersatur.'

1. **uirtus**...**prouocatur**] has the ring of a common-place of the Schools, but I have not been able to trace it further back. 'Every excellence is due to the causes which call it forth.' Harnack sees in this remark an evidence of that Hellenic philosophy of religion which, in his opinion, so powerfully affected the early developement of Christianity: *Hist. of Doctr.* ii p. 14, note 2.

III. *This ch. deals further with the objection already in part discussed by setting forth the antiquity and dignity of water—how it was the seat of God's Spirit at the Creation, how the division of the waters separated Heaven from Earth, how water brought forth the first living creatures, how important was the part which water played in the formation of man: so that, in fact, to pursue the subject would be to collect together praises of water rather than arguments for Baptism.*

3. **praescriptionis**] 'as one precluding further question' Dodgson. The word, which is a great favourite with Tert., has several technical meanings, of which 'a judicial ruling *or* pronouncement' easily passes into the sense required here: see the repeated use of it in ch. xii below.

4. **quam** ... **tractamus**] 'we nevertheless discuss how (i.e. how far) it can be "foolish" and "impossible" that...' Rigalt read the subjunctive 'let us discuss,' without—as it seems to me—sufficient reason. Hartel rejects Reifferscheid's *quam non*, comparing *ad Natt.* i 10 'Recognoscite igitur quam derisores inueniamini numinum uestrorum'; *ad Natt.* ii 4 'Denique, quam ita sit probatio suppetit'; *de Anim.* 45 'Denique et oblectamur et contristamur et conterremur in somniis quam affecte et anxie et passibiliter,' &c.; Lucifer Cal. p. 195, 12 'Quam inimicus noster extiteris potest conici.' In the next clause Hartel puts a comma at *officium*.

5. **reformari**] 'be born again, re-created.' Cf. p. 14. 10, below, and note on *formantur* i 4 above.

ib. **utique**] one of Tertullian's favourite words. 'Anyhow' or 'id est' or 'of course,' are among its meanings; but it takes its exact shade very much from the context.

6. **auctoritas**] The danger of exalting the element used in the sacrament was that it led ultimately to a view of it analogous to transubstantiation. Hence such expressions as τὰ πάντα τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖ, Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* ii 24 (Höfling *d. Sacram. d. Taufe* i p. 473, § 86).

nam unum ex his est quae ante omnem mundi suggestum impolita adhuc specie penes deum quiescebant. in primordio, inquit, fecit deus caelum et terram. terra autem erat inuisibilis et incomposita et tenebrae erant super abyssum et spiritus domini super aquas ferebatur. habes, homo, inprimis aetatem uenerari aquarum, quod antiqua substantia; dehinc dignationem, quod diuini spiritus sedes, gratior scilicet ceteris tunc elementis. nam et tenebrae totae adhuc sine cultu siderum informes et tristis abyssus et terra inparata et caelum rude; solus liquor, semper materia perfecta, laeta, simplex, de suo pura, dignum uectaculum deo subiciebat. quid quod exinde dispositio

2 quiescebat A, quiescebant B. 3 uisibilis *Semler.* 5 domini AB, dei ab. 11 'uectabulum *alii sed nescio qui*' O. *ib. a* subiciebat *usque ad* aquis deo *uncinis inclusit* A.

1. **suggestum**] 'before the world was furnished with anything', Dodgson. See note on p. 4. 1, above. It is tempting to take it literally of the 'piling together' of the world in creation; but the *impolita specie* seems decisive in favour of its regular meaning of 'ornament, equipment, show.'

2. **in primordio**] Gen. i 1, 2.

3. **inuisibilis et incomposita**] Tertullian plainly got this from LXX *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος*, either immediately, or through an O.L. version. The question arises—Why did LXX select *ἀκατασκεύαστος* for בֹּהוּ, and what did they mean by it? (1) Perhaps they were uncertain of the exact meaning of בֹּהוּ, and chose a word something like *ἀόρατος* for תֹּהוּ to keep up the paronomasia; or (2) they may have meant 'unfurnished' by *ἀκατασκ.*, which is not a bad rendering of the Heb. word, which means 'emptiness.' In the Gk fragments of Enoch xxi 1 *ἕως τῆς ἀκατασκευάστου* is used to represent xviii 12 *τόπος ἔρημος καὶ φοβερός*. (3) *ἀόρατος* for תֹּהוּ is also puzzling. Perhaps the translators made a guess at the meaning from *καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τ. ἀβ.* below. Another suggestion that has been made to me is that the LXX were paraphrasing here, and introducing their own philosophical notions, rather than translating.

5. **habes ... uenerari**] 'you are bound to revere.' For *habeo* c. infin. in this sense (a Graecism) see Oehler's note *t* on *de Fuga in Persec.* 12.

6. **substantia**] always concrete in Tertullian—'*a* substance.' In *de Anim.* 32 he explains carefully that *substantia* means, e.g., 'lapis' or 'ferrum,' and distinguishes it from *natura substantiae* (Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* ii 5 p. 257, note 2, E.T.).

8. **cultu**] 'ornament,' rather an unusual sense. Quintilian x, ed. Peterson, Introd. p. xliv, uses it for 'ornaments of style' (*ornatus* in Cic.).

10. **de suo pura**] cf. Sen. *Q. N.* VII i 6 'Non de suo clara.'

11. **uectaculum**] The termination *-culum* was a favourite in Latin of this period (Koffm. *op. cit.* I ii, p. 101; Rönsch *N. T. Tert.* p. 37). Jerome in *Ep.* 73 has an expression which might almost be a paraphrase of this, 'Spiritus dei *in aurigae modum* super aquas ferebatur.' The word occurs again *de Anim.* 53.

mundi modulatricibus quodammodo aquis deo constitit? nam ut firmamentum caeleste suspenderet in medietate, distinctis aquis fecit; ut terram aridam suspenderet, segregatis aquis expediit. ordinato dehinc per elementa mundo cum incolae darentur, primis aquis praeceptum est animas proferre. primus liquor quod uiueret edidit, ne mirum sit in baptismo, si aquae animare nouerunt. non enim ipsius quoque hominis figurandi opus sociantibus aquis absolutum est? de terra materia conuenit, non tamen habili nisi umecta et sucida, quam scilicet ante quartum diem segregatae aquae in stationem suam superstite umore limo temperarant. si exinde uniuersa uel plura prosequar, quae de elementi istius auctoritate commemorem,

3 ut A, et ut Bab. suspenderet—dispesceret I. et segregatis A. 7 non enim A, nam Bab. 8 conuenit '*al. deest*' A*mg*. *om*. Ba. 9 habili Aa, habilis B. 11 temperarent Lab, temperant ABO.

1. **deo constitit**] 'took shape for God,' by the help of water.

ib. Gen. i 6—10. The point of the passage is the part played in Creation by water. By the dividing of the waters the firmament was hung in mid space; and by the gathering together into seas of the lower waters the earth was made to appear.

2. **medietate**] The word is used again *adu. Valent.* 23 and 31 for the dwelling of Achamoth between the Pleroma and the realm of the Demiurge.

4. **per elementa**] The preposition seems to have a distributive sense, as it has e.g. in Ex. xii 57 'per turmas suas.'

8. **conuenit**] apparently inserted conjecturally by the editor of the 1545 edition. Kroymann (*Quaest. Tert.* p. 73 sq.) holds that the words *quam scilicet...umore* do not square with *non tamen...sucida* which precede, because they explain why the *terra* was *umecta et sucida*, and not —which is the sense required—why it was adapted to the creation of man. Moreover, he objects that *terra* in this reading is made to bear two different senses: (1) in *quam scilicet*... it means the earth, as a whole; and (2) in *non tamen*... it means the clay, of which man was made. Hence he would delete *habili*, for which he thinks Gelenius conjectured *habilis* from a perception of the difficulty just mentioned (unless he found it in his MS). So he would read and punctuate, 'De terra materia (*Haec sunt aduersarii*). Non tamen nisi umecta et sucida (sc. *materia*), quam scilicet,' &c. Further, in what follows, he considers either *superstite umore* or *limo* to be a gloss —preferably the latter, which he would expunge. Gompertz agrees in rejecting *conuenit*: otherwise he approves of the text (*Stud. Tertull.* p. 43). *Conuenit* must, I think, be accepted. The construction of *limo*, if it is not a gloss, is difficult. Could Tert. have spoken of 'water tempering earth with mud'? Or could it be dative, in the sense of 'in limum'?

12. **auctoritate**] 'weight' or 'importance,' i.q. 'uis' *or* 'pondus.'

quanta uis eius aut gratia, quot ingenia, quot officia, quantum instrumentum mundo ferat, uereor, ne laudes aquae potius quam baptismi rationes uidear congregasse: licet eo plenius docerem non esse dubitandum, si materiam, quam in omnibus rebus et operibus suis deus disposuit, etiam in sacramentis propriis parere fecit; si quae uitam terrenam gubernat, et in caelesti procurat.

IV. Sed ea satis erit praecerpsisse in quibus et ratio

6 terrenam Ub, aeternam ABa.

1. **ingenia**] 'ingenious contrivances,' as e.g. the hydraulic organ, mentioned in ch. viii. See for many examples Oehler's note *g* on *de Cor.* 8, and cf. p. 21. 4.

2. **instrumentum**] 'what a useful agent, *or*, power for good.'

6. **parere**] 'obey Him,' 'serve His purpose.'

7. **procurat**] 'acts as His agent,' a legal term, whence our 'proctor.' It is used like *curo* with gerundive p. 31. 8, below. In Lk. iii 1 (Vulg.) the pres. part. means 'being procurator': so *Apol.* 24. Tertullian generally uses it (1) with acc. and dat., to provide something for somebody, or (2) with dat. only, to minister to, or serve. In legal Latin it had the further meaning of 'to take care of' a person or thing. With Tertullian's praises of water may be compared a somewhat similar passage in *Clem. Recog.* vi § 8.

IV. *The fact that the Holy Spirit moved at the Creation upon the face of the waters shows either that water is holy of itself, or that it then borrowed holiness from that which lay upon it. This power of sanctification, therefore, has descended to waters of every kind since then, from the fact that water was so distinguished in the beginning. Further, the carnal washing of the body in the water is a figure of the mystical cleansing of the soul in the same.*

Didymus, *de Trin.* ii 12 sq., seems to have worked over the whole of this and the next two chapters.

8. **sed ea**] In addition to the various readings recorded in the critical note, the following proposals of Kroymann (*Quaest. Tert.* p. 74) must be considered: p. 9. 1 *prima illa quae*. 2 *praenotabantur* with colon at *figuram*. 3 *in tincto remoraturum*. 5 *aut*. To discuss all possible ways of reading and translating this passage would occupy an inordinate amount of space. The reading adopted may be thought unduly conservative, but it affords a tolerable sense: 'But it will be sufficient (for my purpose) to have culled at the outset these instances, in which among other things that first principle of Baptism is recognised, whereby even then by the very posture an indication was given aforetime in symbolism of Baptism that the Spirit of God, which from the beginning rode over the waters, would remain upon the waters as baptizer.'

ib. **praecerpsisse**] A rare word. As I have not come across it elsewhere in Tert. I do not feel sure of its exact meaning. In classical Latin it means (1) 'to pluck fruit before it is ripe,' (2) 'to make extracts from.'

ib. **ratio baptismi**] I.e. these instances of the way in which water was used at the first prepare one to understand its use in Baptism.

baptismi recognoscitur prima illa, qua iam tunc etiam ipso habitu praenotabatur ad baptismi figuram dei spiritum, qui ab initio superuectabatur super aquas, super aquas intinctorem moraturum. sanctum autem utique super sanctum ferebatur aut ab eo, quod superferebatur, id quod ferebat sanctitatem mutuabatur, quoniam subiecta quaeque materia eius, quae desuper imminet, qualitatem rapiat necesse est, maxime corporalis spiritalem et penetrare et insidere facilem per substantiae suae subtilitatem. ita de sancto sanctificata natura aquarum et ipsa sanctificare concepit. nemo dicat: numquid ipsis enim aquis tinguimur, quae tunc in primordio fuerunt? non utique ipsis, nisi ex ea parte qua genus quidem unum, species uero complures. quod autem generi adtributum est, etiam in speciem redundat. ideoque nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno,

1 primum R, prima *cett.* quae ABabO, qua UR. 2 praenotabatur ABab, praenotabant R. 3 super aquas *bis* R. intinctorem oraturum A, intinctorem moraturum A*mg*U, intinctos reformaturum Ba, intinctorum moraturum bOR, in tincto remoraturum K. 5 aut ABabO, et IR. 10 [numquid] A. 11 tunc Ab, nunc Ba. ipsi A, ipsis Bab. 12 specie AB, species abOR.

1. **ipso habitu**] As water lay at the Creation beneath the Spirit of God which brooded upon it, so it was suited to bear the Spirit resting upon it in Baptism.

2. **praenotabatur**] Cf. *de Res. Carn.* 22 'Diem ultimum...nec ulli praeter patri notum, et tamen signis atque portentis...praenotatum.'

3. **intinctorem**] The proposal, noted above, to read 'in tincto remoraturum' is open to the objection that it removes the Spirit's presence further from the water, which is the main point here.

8. **insidere**] from *insido*, not *insideo*. For the infin. after *facilis* cf. Roby *Lat. Gram.* ii § 1361.

ib. **per substantiae suae subtilitatem**] Perhaps a Stoic idea, see *de Anim.* 20.

10. **concepit**] 'conceived, or received, the power to sanctify'; cf. 'uim sanctificandi combibunt,' p. 10. 8, below.

12. **ex ea parte qua**] 'except in so far as,' an extension of such uses as *ex aliqua parte*, *ex minima parte*.

13. **speciem**] Dodgson, reading *specie* which he justifies by a ref. to Cic. *Balb.* xxv, translates 'appeareth again in the species also.' I prefer 'runneth over into the species.' Cf. *de Spect.* 7 'Nam et riuulus tenuis ex suo fonte et surculus modicus ex sua fronde qualitatem originis continet.'

14. **nulla distinctio est**] There is abundant evidence, both in literature and art, that open-air baptism —esp. in running water—persisted till a comparatively late period (see much interesting information in C. F. Rogers 'Baptism and Archaeology' in *Studia Biblica* v, ch. 4, p. 305 sq.). Cf. e.g. *Didache* § 7 'But if thou

flumine an fonte, lacu an alueo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Iohannes in Iordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. nisi et ille spado, quem Philippus inter uias fortuita aqua tinxit, plus salutis aut minus retulit. igitur omnes aquae de pristina originis praerogatiua sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur inuocato deo. superuenit enim statim spiritus de caelis et aquis superest sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatae uim sanctificandi combibunt. quamquam ad simplicem actum competat similitudo, ut, quoniam uice sordium delictis inquinamur, aquis abluamur. sed delicta sicut non in carne comparent, quia nemo super cutem portat maculam idololatriae aut stupri aut fraudis, ita eiusmodi in spiritu sordent, qui est auctor delicti. spiritus enim dominatur, caro famulatur. tamen utrumque inter se communicant

2 inter Iordanem A, in Iordane Bab. 6 [deo] A. 8 combibunt, uice sordium aquis abluantur. Quanquam AU, *a* uice *usque ad* abluantur *om.* B. combibunt, ut et delicta uice sordium aquis abluantur. Quamquam *ex coni. Wouwerii* a *et* b, combibunt. Quamquam OR.

hast not running water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm.'

1. **lacu**] 'cistern'; alueo 'tub.'

2. **Iohannes**] Here Tertullian seems to consider John's baptism to be the same as Christian baptism. But see below, ch. x.

ib. **Petrus in Tiberi**] The martyrdom of St Peter at Rome is mentioned in *de Praescr. Haer.* 36 and *adu. Marc.* iv 5.

4. **igitur**] This passage is used, largely *verbatim*, by Isid. *Etym.* VI xix 49 (Klussmann *op. cit.* p. 12).

5. **praerogatiua**] is late in the sense of 'privilege,' cf. p. 51. 9, below, and *adu. Valent.* 4 'ex martyrii *pr.*' 'ex seminis *pr.*' *de Anim.* 39. It often means in Tertullian 'a prior claim to,' with genitive, e.g. *de Res. Carn.* 25 'primae resurrectionis *pr.*' 'the right to rise first from the dead.' In *adu. Marc.* iv 22 'ostensis prius cum illo Moyse et Elia in claritatis *pr.*' it seems to mean 'excellent brightness.' *De Spect.* 10 is more difficult: 'this precedent of even a human rule of duty' is probably the meaning there.

ib. **sacramentum**] 'the mystery of sanctification.' See on i 1 above.

7. **aquis superest**] A use of the verb to which I know no parallel.

9. **competat**] 'is suitable to,' as in *adu. Marc.* i 16, where it corresponds to 'congruit.' Contrast p. 33. 3.

uice] For '*uice*' in this sense cf. *Apol.* 27 '*u.* rebellantium'; 34 'Dei *u.*'; *de Idol.* 13 '*u.* pestis'; and '*uice* pecudum occidi,' Lact. v 10. 6.

12. **eiusmodi**] and *huiusmodi* are used not only adverbially, but also substantivally—even with a preposition; cf. p. 34. 5, below, 'audiui eiusmodi.' Examples are given in Oehler at the latter place. (See also Sittl *op. cit.*, s.v.) Dodgson translates 'persons of this sort': perhaps 'things of this sort' would be better.

14. **famulatur**] In classical Latin

reatum, spiritus ob imperium, caro ob ministerium. igitur medicatis quodammodo aquis per angeli interuentum et spiritus in aquis corporaliter diluitur et caro in eisdem spiritaliter mundatur.

V. Sed enim nationes extraneae ab omni intellectu spiritalium potestatem eadem efficacia idolis suis subministrant.

3 deluitur I, *ut infr.* p. 13. 3. 6 potestatum AbO, potestatem BaR, eadem efficacia <aquas> *coni.* O, potestatum eandem efficaciam *coni. Hartel.* subministrauit A, subministrant Bab.

the active is not found, and the deponent is rare. Tertullian uses the active in the sense of δουλόω, cf. *Apol.* 21 'cum elementa ipsa famularet,' where Cyprian's more sensitive taste caused him to substitute 'cogeret sibi elementa famulari,' *de Idol. Van.* 3. For the thought cf. *de Res. Carn.* 16 and *de Anim.* 40.

1. **reatum**] 'guilt.' So often in Tert. Properly, the condition of one *reus*, awaiting judgment.

2. **medicatis**] Cf. p. 12. 12, below. Used of rennet *de Carn. Chr.* 19; of embalming *ib.* 27. Cf. 'occulte *medicans*,' Virg. *Aen.* vii 418.

ib. **per angeli interuentum**] see on vi 2, below.

ib. **spiritus...caro**] Höfling (*op. cit.* p. 47) thinks the analogy must not be pressed too far, otherwise it would follow that, the more thoroughly the body was washed in the baptismal water, the more effectually would the soul be cleansed. There is justice in this observation, but it is only one more instance of the truth that no analogy must be pressed too far. For the thought cf. the passage in *de Res. Carn.* 8 'Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur,' etc. of which a translation has already been given in the *Introduction* (p. xix. 1).

V. *Baptism is practised in heathen rites as a ceremony of initiation, lustration and purification; how much more likely, therefore, that it will be efficacious in the worship of God. The Pool of Bethsaida provides an illustration. Man is restored in Baptism to the image of God which he lost through sin.*

5. **nationes**] Many of the fathers held that the heathen mysteries were a mockery or parody of Christian rites, operated by devils or demons, to lead Christians astray. This belief was held by Tertullian, as may be seen by referring to *Apol.* 22 and *de Praescr. Haer.* 40 'Qui (sc. diabolus) ipsas quoque res sacramentorum diuinorum idolorum mysteriis aemulatur...expiationem delictorum de lauacro repromittit... celebrat et panis oblationem.' Cf. also Just. Mart. *Apol.* i 66 ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίγνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες. Justin held that false teaching was the work of demons, who were the fruit of intercourse between angels and women (*id. ib.* ii 5. 13; Gen. vi 2); that demons were the authors of heresies (*id. ib.* i 25); that demons had overheard the prophets foretelling Christ, and used the knowledge for their own purposes (*id. ib.* i 54). The best discussions of the subject I know are to be found in Hatch *Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Chr. Ch.* (Hibbert Lectures), Lecture x, p. 283 sq.; 'The Influence of the Mysteries upon Christian usages'; Inge *Christian Mysticism*, Appendix B; Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* iv 4 p. 268, E.T.; *Mission u. Ausbreitung*, 1902, p. 281.

6. **potestatem**] Hartel, in the

sed uiduis aquis sibi mentiuntur. nam et sacris quibusdam per lauacrum initiantur, Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae; ipsos etiam deos suos lauationibus efferunt. ceterum uillas, domos, templa totasque urbes aspergine circumlatae aquae expiant passim. certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis tinguuntur idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt. item penes ueteres quisque se homicidio infecerat, purgatrices aquas explorabat. igitur si de sola natura aquae, quod propria materia sit abluendi, in auspicia emundationis blandiuntur, quanto id uerius aquae praestabunt per dei auctoritatem, a quo omnis natura earum constituta est? si religione aquam medicari putant, quae potior religio quam dei uiui? quo agnito hic quoque studium diaboli recognoscimus

5 Pelusiis ABa, Eleusiniis Ub. 7 quisque A, quisquis BO. 8 purgatrices aquas explorabat A, purgatrice aqua expiabatur A *mg*, purgatrice aqua se expiabat Bab, *ib.* aquae A, aqua Ba, aquis Ub. 9 abluendi, in auspicia emundationis Ub, adloquendi in auspicii emundationis A, adlegendi auspicii emundationis A *mg* Ba.

article in *Patristische Studien* already referred to, would read *potestatum* and *eandem efficaciam*, referring in support to *de Ieiun.* 7 'Uti reuoluamus utilitatis efficacia potestates istius officii.' He also gives a reference to *de Orat.* 23, but I think the reference must be wrong.

ib. **subministrant**] 'attribute.' It is used in *Apol.* 39 of lending to a friend. In *de Praescr. Haer.* 2 'Dum mirantur, in scandalum subministrantur,' it is explained by Oehler as 'prolabuntur.'

1. **uiduis**] 'mere solitary' Dodgson. Better, 'powerless, devoid of efficacy.'

3. **efferunt**] 'they exalt, extol.' Examples of the practice referred to have been collected by Oehler in his note. To these may be added *Passio S. Theodoti Ancyrani* xiv (in Ruinart's *Acta Sincera*).

6. **regenerationem**] 'The worship of Mithras has its redeemer, its mediator, its hierarchy, sacrifice, baptism, and sacred meal' (Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* i p. 118, note 1, E.T., and Hatch, as referred to above). For the word *v.* Koffmane *op. cit.* I i, p. 70.

7. **penes**] in the sense of *apud*, as often in Tertullian. See Oehler's Index, s.v. and Koffmane I ii, p. 141.

ib. **quisque**] for *quisquis* or *quicumque*. The indefinite pronouns were losing their sharpness of definition (Koffmane I ii, p. 138). Here and in *adu. Iud.* 7 Oehler accepts the emendation *quisquis*, in the latter passage against the MSS.

8. **explorabat**] 'searched for.'

9. **in auspicia ... blandiuntur**] 'make much of, as giving hope of inward cleansing.' *Emundatio* (again *adu. Marc.* iv 9) is late. In Vulg. (e.g. Levit. xv 13) it represents טָהֳרָה, which the LXX translates by *καθαρισμός* or the like.

12. **medicari**] Cf. *medicatis* p. 11. 2, above.

res dei aemulantis, cum et ipse baptismum in suis exercet. quid simile? immundus emundat, perditor liberat, damnatus absoluit. suam uidelicet operam destruet diluens delicta, quae inspirat ipse. haec quidem in testimonium posita sunt repellentibus fidem, si minime credant rebus dei, quarum adfectationibus apud aemulum dei credunt. annon et alias sine ullo sacramento immundi spiritus aquis incubant adfectantes illam in primordio diuini spiritus gestationem? sciunt opaci quique fontes et auii quique riui et in balneis piscinae et euripi in domibus uel cisternae et putei, qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per uim spiritus nocentis. nam et †esietos et lymphaticos et hydrophobos uocant, quos aquae necauerunt aut amentia uel formidine exercuerunt. quorsum ista retulimus? ne quis durius credat angelum dei sanctum aquis in salutem hominis temperandis adesse, cum angelus malus profanum commercium eiusdem elementi in perniciem hominis frequentat.

3 deluens I, *ut supr.* p. 11. 3. 7 [aquis] A. 11 nam et † esietos AR: n. e. enectos Ba: n. e. apopnictos Ub. Nympholeptos O, nam ἐξεστηκότας *uel* n. ἄταις ictos *coni.* R. lymphaticos A, lymphatos Bab. 12 hydrophobas A, hydrophobos B. 13 execuerunt A, exercuerunt A *mg* Bab. 15 angelis malis A, angelus malus B. profanus ABa, profanum Ub. 16 frequentat ABa, frequentet UIb.

3. **suam...operam destruet**] Mt. xii 26.

4. **repellentibus**] The present participle was steadily acquiring a substantival use (Koffmane 1 i, p. 53, note); but, apart from this, the phrase has a Greek ring, and may be a reminiscence of a passage of the earlier Greek treatise alluded to p. 42. 9, below, e.g. *ταῦτα δὲ εἰς μαρτύριον κεῖται τοῖς τὴν πίστιν ἀθετοῦσιν.*

5. **adfectationibus**] 'misguided imitation' in silver Latin.

8. **gestationem**] *φορά*; generally of being carried in a litter (like the Pope's 'sella gestatoria'). It probably refers to the *ἐπεφέρετο* of Gen. i 2, LXX.

ib. **sciunt**] Cf. p. 28. 5, below.

9. **euripi**] 'conduits, canals.'

10. **qui rapere dicuntur**] as Hylas was carried off by the nymphs.

11. **†esietos**] A *uox nihili.* Of Reifferscheid's two suggestions I prefer *ἄταις ictos*, but am not convinced that the right solution has been found. As 'lymphaticos' corresponds to 'amentia,' and 'hydrophobos' to 'formidine,' some word seems to be required which would correspond to 'necauerunt.' The passage reminds one of a remark in the *de Anim.* 1 'Legimus quidem pleraque aquarum genera miranda.' There is another *crux* in *de Pudic.* 6, 'lactae sortes.'

14. **angelum dei...temperandis**] Cf. 'medicatis...per angeli interuentum aquis,' p. 11. 2, above.

15. **commercium...frequentat**] For this phrase cf. 'exigis ut hoc

angelum aquis interuenire si nouum uidetur, exemplum futuri praecucurrit. piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interueniens commouebat. obseruabant qui ualetudinem querebantur. nam si quis praeuenerat descendere illuc, queri post lauacrum desinebat. figura ista medicinae corporalis spiritalem medicinam canebat, ea forma qua semper carnalia in figuram spiritalium antecedunt. proficiente itaque in hominibus gratia dei plus aquis et angelo accessit. qui uitia corporis remediabant, nunc spiritum medentur; qui temporalem operabantur salutem, nunc aeternam reformant; qui unum semel anno liberabant, nunc quotidie populos conseruant deleta morte per ablutionem

5 figuram R (*errore, ut uidetur*). 6 figuram R, figura *cett.* 7 ita qui nominibus A, itaque in hominibus Ba, *om.* in b.

epistularum *c.* frequentemus,' Sen. *Ep.* xxxviii 1. Kroymann (*Quaest. Tertull.* p. 75) rejects *profanum* as being meaningless when applied to *commercium*. He suggests—acutely, but in my opinion unconvincingly—'angelus mali profanus,' because (1) it forms a neat antithesis to *angelum dei sanctum*; and (2) he maintains that *malus* is Tertullian's word for the Devil. But this is not invariably so; and the passage *de Testim. Anim.* 2, to which he refers in support, does not bear out his contention.

2. **praecucurrit**] Cf. p. 4. 10, above.

ib. **Bethsaidam**] W.H. *marg.* from B. They read Βηθζαθά in the text, with ℵ; Βηθεσδά is read by A and C. (For fuller information see their *Gk Test.* ii p. 76.) It is noteworthy that the interpolated verse (Joh. v 4) must have been in Tertullian's N.T. or known to him. He is the earliest writer who refers to it, with Chrysostom, Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria. The glosses in this verse and verse 3 seem, for whatever reason, to have been confined for a time to North Africa (Westcott *Gospel acc. to St John, in loc.* and p. 94).

4. **praeuenerat descendere**] sounds like a reminiscence of ἔφθασε καταβῆναι, rather than of ὁ πρῶτος ἐμβάς. Perhaps Tertullian had a different reading in his Gk text; or this may represent the O.L. rendering of a different Gk reading—and we know how slavish the O.L. renderings sometimes were (Introd. p. 6, § xxxii). Oehler refers for the construction to *Apol.* 39 (note *u*).

5. **ista**] See on i 3, above.

6. **ea forma**] 1 Cor. xv 46 sq. I have not found an exact parallel to the expression 'ea forma qua,' but 'Ex forma...omnium mysteriorium' *ad Natt.* i 7 is not unlike it, only the text there is uncertain. It means 'ea lege,' or 'ea condicione, qua.'

7. **hominibus**] Hartel suggests *in omnibus*.

8. **remediabant**] Cf. p. 27. 2, below. The word is not uncommon in Tertullian.

10. **reformant**] See p. 5. 5, above.

ib. **semel anno**] Tertullian evidently read κατὰ καιρόν, and interpreted it 'once a year,' as did Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Ambrose (Dodgson *Translation*, note *in loc.*).

delictorum. exempto scilicet reatu eximitur et poena. ita restituetur homo deo ad similitudinem eius, qui retro ad

1. **ita restituetur**] 'Thus man will be restored to God after His likeness, who once had been after God's image. The image belongs to the temporal presentment, the likeness to the eternal reality.' So Mason (*Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*[2] p. 59 sq.) referring *eius* to *dei*, and *qui* to *homo*. It is possible, however, that *eius qui... fuerat* means Adam. The choice of the future tense, if that is the correct reading, is interesting, and not altogether easy to explain. It is suggested that Tertullian means that the restoration is only begun here, to be perfected in eternity (Note k, p. 263 of Dodgson's *Translation*).

2. **ad similitudinem**] Gen. i 26, 27. Wisd. ii 23.

The end of this ch. raises two points upon which it may be well to say a few words, (1) the distinction between 'image' and 'likeness,' and (2) the identification of the gift of the Spirit in Christianity with the 'breath of life' in Genesis.

(1) The words 'imago' and 'similitudo' go back ultimately in this connexion to Gen. i 26, בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ LXX *κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. The attempt made by some Greek and Latin Fathers to distinguish between the two, referring צלם to the physical or inborn side of the Divine image, and דמות to the ethical or receptive side (German 'Ebenbild'), is probably misplaced, for the following reasons: (1) there is no ו between the words, LXX *καὶ* having no textual justification; (2) in verse 27 and in ix 6 only צלם occurs, and in v 1 דמות alone, although the context shows that the passages are practically identical. Probably, therefore, the words are synonymous, the second being added to emphasize the first.

Philo uses both words, but uses them interchangeably. In the Clementine Homilies x 4 the following distinction is drawn: *εἰκὼν θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. τὴν δὲ ὁμοιότητα οὐκέτι ἔχουσι πάντες, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς.*

Irenaeus enlarges the conception, and makes it more definite; but he is not always consistent. Thus he says that man was made at the first after both the image and likeness of God (v 28. 4); that both the image and the likeness were lost at the Fall (iii 18. 1); again, that both the image and the likeness were absent from man when first created, but were to be attained subsequently (iv 38. 3. 4). Elsewhere, that man was created after the Divine *image*, that the *likeness* was separately received from the Spirit, and the *likeness* alone lost through sin (v 16. 1).

Possibly the inconsistency is more a matter of word than of thought: (so E. Klebba, *Die Anthropologie d. hl. Irenaeus*, Münster, 1894). Harnack however sees in it a fusion of two lines of teaching which meet in Irenaeus (*Hist. of Doctr.* ii p. 268, E.T.). (1) Irenaeus held, after Theophilus of Antioch, that man was originally created imperfect, and that the 'image' and the 'likeness' are, therefore, both still to be attained. (2) Following St Paul's teaching about *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* (Eph. i 10) he argues that human nature must originally have been perfect, e.g. 'Quod perdideramus in Adam, id est, secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Iesu recipimus,' iii 18. 1; cf. v 16. 2; v 1. 1; v 2. 1.

Clement of Alexandria taught that man was not created perfect,

imaginem dei fuerat. imago in effigie, similitudo in aeternitate censetur. recipit enim illum dei spiritum, quem tunc de adflatu eius acceperat, sed post amiserat per delictum.

but was adapted to the attainment of perfection (*Strom.* v 11 *fin.* 12); and that man received straightway on his creation what is according to the image, but will only receive on his perfection what is according to the likeness (*ib.* ii 22).

Didymus, a writer whose indebtedness to Tertullian has been brought out by Dr Mason (*Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*[2] p. 295; cf. also Mingarelli *in loc.*), supplies a close parallel to the language we are considering. He writes: Καὶ *τὴν γεγραμμένην εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπολαμβάνομεν ἣν ἐδεξάμεθα διὰ τοῦ θεϊκοῦ ἐμφυσήματος, καὶ ἀπωλέσαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος· καὶ αὖθις εὑρισκόμεθα οἷοί περ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἐγενήθημεν ἀναμάρτητοι καὶ αὐτεξούσιοι* (*de Trin.* ii 12). So, too, Tatian, Καὶ *ὁ μὲν κατ᾽ εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονώς, χωρισθέντος ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ δυνατωτέρου, θνητὸς γίνεται*, vii p. 249; cf. xiii p. 255 and xv p. 256. To much the same effect, lastly, though their language is less explicit, are the expressions of Cyprian (*de Bon. Patient.* p. 248); and, at a considerably later date, of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, iii 2, p. 296, attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, probably written in the sixth century. See Lupton, *Dean Colet on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*, Introd. p. xxxviii.

(2) Secondly, we are to consider the identification of the נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים, LXX *πνοὴν ζωῆς*, Philo *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*, with the Christian gift of the Spirit. In the first place it is to be noted that 'soul of life' is predicated of animals also (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה Gen. i 20), and the only thing which is said of man, and not of them, is the action of 'breathing' (יִפַּח) performed by the Creator. Further, the words of St Paul, 1 Cor. xv 45, *ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ (ἐγένετο) εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*, seem to draw a distinction, which the expressions in Genesis taken alone would hardly have suggested, between primitive man and Christian man. When we remember that the same word *ἐνεφύσησεν* is used Joh. xx 22, and remember who it was of whom that is said, we may perhaps conclude that it is justifiable to say (1) that the 'Spirit' given in both cases was identical, but that (2) it was present at the Creation in a rudimentary form, and subsequently raised by the Word of God to a higher power—if the expression may be allowed.

Tertullian seems to have held the two to be identical, as appears from the passage before us compared with other places, e.g. *de Anim.* 11 and 21; and the same is plainly the view of Didymus, *καὶ ὁ δεσπότης δὲ παρ᾽ Ἰωάννῃ* (Joh. xx 22) *ἀποδιδοὺς ἡμῖν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὃ ἀπολέσαντες ἦμεν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας παρακοῆς, ἐνεφύσησεν...κ.τ.λ.* (*de Trin.* ii 7. 6).

Of modern writers I will mention only two, Bp Bull, *State of Man before the Fall*, Discourse v, pp. 52—136 of Burton's edn, vol. ii, 1846, who discusses the question in reply to an opponent in what he calls 'a very large answer,' and Tennant *The Fall and Original Sin* p. 159 sq.

ib. **retro**] Common in the sense of *olim*; cf. xiii 5, 9; p. 55. 8; and Oehler on *de Spectac.* 9, p. 34, note *a*.

1. **fuerat**] Hartel prefers this to either of Reifferscheid's suggestions, *factus fuerat* or *fuerat formatus*.

2. **censetur**] 'is considered to be, springs from,' a common use in Tertullian. Oehler has collected

VI. Non quod in aquis spiritum sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo spiritui sancto praeparamur. hic quoque figura praecessit; sic enim Iohannes antepraecursor domini fuit, praeparans uias eius. ita et angelus baptismi arbiter superuenturo spiritui sancto uias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in Patre et Filio et

2 spiritu AU, spiritui A*mg*Bab. 3 antepraecursor AB, ante praecursor abO.

examples on *Apol.* 15 and *de Cor.* 13; e.g. 'de contemptu utique censentur,' 'such absurdities *have their origin in* the contempt with which.' It also means 'to be esteemed for'; see Woodham on *Apol.* 12.

VI. *The gift of the Holy Spirit is not conferred in the water, which only, under the Angel, prepares us for His reception, as John prepared the way for Christ. The certainty of our hope of salvation is pledged to us in the three-fold Name.*

1. **consequamur**] subjunctive after *non quod* of an unfulfilled assumption, Roby ii §§ 1744, 1747.

2. **sub angelo**] Sittl takes *sub* in the sense of *coram*, as in *Apol.* 9; *de Res. Carn.* 9; *adu. Prax.* 27; *de Test. Anim.* 2; and p. 18. 4, below. So also Rönsch, *N.T. Tertull.* p. 587, where many examples are quoted. Perhaps it is rather 'under the direction of' the angel. For the belief see p. 11. 2, above, and Didymus *de Trin.* ii 14 Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τὸ ὕδωρ ταράσσων πρόδρομος ἦν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· οὕτινος ἀγγέλου καθ' ὁμοιότητα Ἰωάννης...ἐν ὕδατι ἐβάπτισεν.

3. **sic**] Kroymann (*Quaest. Tert.* p. 75) would read *sicut*, with commas at *fuit* and *eius*. He quotes two passages to support his view; but in one, p. 23, below, there is no *ita*; and in the other, *de Pudic.* 15, *sicubi* seems to be the original reading.

ib. **antepraecursor**] Mal. iii 1; Matt. iii 1—3; cf. Is. xl 3. The word, which Reifferscheid reads again p. 32. 13, is not found to the best of my knowledge elsewhere. It is perhaps, as Oehler suggests, a conflation of *antecursor* and *praecursor*. The latter occurs in Vulgate of Ex. xxxiii 2, 1 Kings viii 11, and Hebr. vi 20.

4. **angelus...arbiter**] Cf. p. 18. 2, below, 'arbitros fidei.' Tertullian uses *arbiter* in the two senses of (1) 'witness,' and (2) 'one who presides over.' For (1) cf. *adu. Marc.* iv 22 'Tres de discentibus arbitros futurae uisionis et uocis assumit': so *de Ieiun.* 5 and *adu. Marc.* ii 27. For (2) cf. *de Pall.* 2 'Iordanis amnis finium arbiter.' The latter is probably the meaning here. Some have taken it of the (human) 'minister of baptism,' like the ποιμήν, ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας in *Shepherd of Hermas* V v 7 and elsewhere.

5. **superuenturo**] The force of the preposition is not clear; 'about to come upon us' or 'who comes after' can both be defended. In the O. L. version of the N.T. it translates ἐπέρχεσθαι (except in Jas. v 1), which is a strong argument in favour of the former translation. The word commonly means 'to be added to' in Tertullian.

6. **obsignata**] which in legal Latin means simply 'to seal,' has in Tertullian the additional meanings of (1) to shut up, or, close, (2) to ratify. For the simple verb in connexion with Baptism see *de Praescr. Haer.* 26, *de Res. Carn.* 8.

Spiritu Sancto. nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne uerbum, quanto magis, dum habemus per benedictionem eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis, sufficit ad fiduciam spei nostrae etiam numerus nominum diuinorum? cum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario

1 uerbum dei A, *om.* dei Bab. 2 donum habemus benedictionem A, dum h. per b. Bab.

1. **in tribus**] Deut. xix 15, 2 Cor. xiii 1. Cf. Isid. *Etym.* vi 19. 46 'Sicut enim in tribus testibus stat omne uerbum,...ita hoc sacramentum confirmat ternarius numerus nominum diuinorum.' (Klussmann *Excerpt. Tertull. ex Isid.* p. 12.)

2. **per benedictionem**] Cf. ch. viii 3, below.

4. **cum autem sub tribus** etc.] This difficult passage admits of more than one interpretation. Are the persons indicated in the words 'sub tribus' the Three Divine Persons, whom we have as both 'arbitros fidei' and 'sponsores salutis'; or are they the human witnesses, in whose presence our faith is attested and our salvation promised? Is the formula in which 'mention of the Church is necessarily added' the same as the 'benediction' in which 'the Divine names' occur (i.e. the baptismal formula); or is it another form of words, contrasted with the first, and consisting of the (interrogative) baptismal creed? What is the connexion between the two sentences? Is the 'autem' adversative, or is it merely connective? The answers to these questions may be combined in a variety of ways.

If we take first the question of the form or forms of words, it seems certain that there was never any explicit mention of the Church in the actual formula of Baptism. If therefore Tertullian in the second sentence is still speaking of the act of Baptism itself, the 'mentio ecclesiae' must be a tacit mention, necessarily implied in the mention of the Trinity. This would be quite in accordance with Tertullian's views: compare the passage from *de Orat.* quoted in the next note. The word 'necessario' is itself somewhat in favour of this view. On the other hand the phrase 'adicitur ecclesiae mentio' would most naturally be taken to mean an explicit mention; in which case the form of words referred to must be something other than the baptismal formula, and can only be the baptismal creed. Against this view it may be said that Tertullian's creed is generally supposed not to have contained a mention of the Church (see the passages in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 2 foll.). But the evidence, which is purely negative, is hardly conclusive. Certainly by the time of Cyprian the baptismal interrogation in Africa included mention of the Church (Cypr. *Ep.* lxx 2).

If the latter view is correct, Tertullian contrasts the creed with the baptismal formula. In the baptismal formula, it is enough to name the three Divine names. They are sufficient to guarantee the hope of the baptized. The three heavenly Witnesses of our faith (which is shown by our being baptized into the threefold name) make Themselves personally responsible for our salvation. It is otherwise with the creed. This we recite in order to satisfy the Church, and its representative witnesses, of our faith; and therefore—'necessario' is in this interpretation a somewhat exaggerated

adicitur ecclesiae mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quae trium corpus est.

VII. Exinde egressi de lauacro perungimur benedicta

word—it is natural to express our belief in the part performed by the Church in our salvation.

For the 'sub' in 'sub tribus' cp. above, 'sub angelo.'

2. **ecclesia, quae trium corpus est**] There are again two ways of taking this sentence, according as 'corpus trium' is interpreted to mean 'a body of three,' i.e. three men, or 'the body of the Three' above named, i.e. the Persons of the Trinity. If it means 'the Church, which is a body of three,' it must be remembered that three was the legal minimum of a Roman *collegium* (Marcell. in *Dig.* i 16. 85). Tertullian will then be insisting that a congregation of three is sufficient to form a 'Church,' in accordance with the promise in Mt. xviii 17, 20. Cf. *de Fuga* 14 'sit tibi et in tribus ecclesia'; *de Pud.* 21 'Illam ecclesiam congregat (Spiritus) quam Dominus in tribus posuit.' See also *de Exhort. Cast.* 7. These three books were written after Tertullian became a Montanist; but the thought was doubtless familiar to him before (cf. *de Paen.* 10 'in uno et altero ecclesia est,' where however the meaning may be somewhat different). But there is not much point here in bringing in such a reference; and in spite of the strangeness of the expression, it may well be that Tertullian intends to say that the Church is the 'corpus' of the Trinity. It would be but an extension of the language which he uses elsewhere in his Catholic writings. Thus the passage of *de Paen.* above quoted goes on to say: 'ecclesia uero Christus. ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas, Christum exoras.' Cf. *de Orat.* 2 'Item in patre filius inuocatur. ego enim, inquit, et pater unum sumus. ne mater quidem ecclesia praeteritur. siquidem in filio et patre mater recognoscitur, de qua constat et patris et filii nomen.' In his Montanistic days Tertullian freely identifies the Church, as he then understood it, with the Spirit (*de Pud.* 21 'nam et ipsa ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est Spiritus'). It is an extreme way of emphasizing the belief that all the actions of the Church performed in God's name are God's actions. The latest writer on Tertullian's conception of the Church says, 'The Church appeared ...to be nothing else than the exhibition of Divine energy, the great revelation of the Spirit.' He adds that the word *corpus* 'in Tertullian's phraseology denotes not the physical organism, in contradistinction to the immaterial soul, but rather the substantive reality, as against the merely mental conception or the empty word' (Adam *Kirchenbegriff Tertullians*, p. 92). In support of this last assertion Adam refers to *adu. Prax.* 7—the famous passage where Tertullian maintains that God, and spirits in general, have a *corpus*.

VII. *The Unction, which anoints us to the Priesthood. The Unction, like the Baptism, is a bodily act, but of spiritual efficacy.*

3. **exinde egressi**] Many phrases from this passage are reproduced in Isid. *Etym.* vi 19. 51 and 52; vii 2. 2 and 3 (Klussmann *op. cit.* p. 13). It is noticeable that Isidore prefers, as a rule, the simple verb where Tertullian has a compound; e.g. he reads *mundata* p. 22. 9, and *quiescit* ib. 10, for *emundata* and *conquiescit* (Hartel *Patristische Studien* iii p. 9). Perhaps this was a piece of literary purism, fashionable in his time.

unctione de pristina disciplina, qua ungi oleo de cornu in sacerdotio solebant; ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est, unde christus dicitur a chrismate, quod est unctio, quae domino nomen accommodauit, facta spiritalis, quia spiritu unctus est a deo patre, sicut in Actis: collecti sunt enim uere in ista ciuitate aduersus sanctum filium tuum, quem unxisti. sic et in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritaliter proficit; quomodo et

2 sacerdotio AB, sacerdotium ab. 4 spiritus A, spiritu Bab. 5 enim uero A, enim uere B.

ib. **perungimur**] Note the force of the preposition: a copious anointing on the head, not on the forehead only; or possibly an anointing 'all over,' in various parts, such as was customary elsewhere (Mason *op. cit.* p. 63 note). Cf. p. 34. 10 'Dicens Petro perfundi uolenti.'

ib. **benedicta unctione**] The unguent in the Roman Church is a mixture of olive oil and balsam; in the Greek Church other fragrant ingredients are added. An early practice was to consecrate it on Maundy Thursday, the right of consecration being reserved to Bishops. The custom is referred to in the following passage of Cyprian, *Ep.* lxx p. 173 'Ungi quoque necesse est eum qui baptizatus est, ut accepto chrismate, id est unctione, esse unctus dei, et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. porro autem Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguntur oleum in altari sanctificatum' (with a variant 'oleo ...sanctificato'). Attempts have been made, e.g. by Scudamore s.v. 'Unction' in Smith *D. Chr. Antiq.*, to distinguish an Unction in Baptism from that in Confirmation. As far as the evidence of Tertullian goes, there is nothing to support such a theory. 'The later Unction was a special application of the same chrism in the moment of the Laying on of Hands, not something essentially different' (Mason *op. cit.* p. 63, and Bingham *Antiq.* xii 1.)

1. **pristina disciplina**] the O.T. dispensation. So 'census istius disciplinae' (*Apol.* 7) means the origin of Christianity, and 'Christiana disciplina' (*de Pudic.* 11) means the Christian dispensation. The reference is to Ex. xxix 7, etc. It will be observed that Tert. claims no command of Christ for this use of unction. It is taken directly from the O.T.

ib. **de cornu**] The horn is not mentioned in the O.T. in connexion with priesthood. It comes from 1 Sam. xvi 1, 13; 1 Kings i 39.

ib. **in sacerdotio**] Isidore, in the passage referred to above, reads *in sacerdotium*, as Pamelius read here, and adds *et in regnum*, for which cf. Lactant. *Diu. Instit.* iv 7. It may be doubted whether 'in sacerdotio' is intended to mean 'in the case of the priesthood,' or whether it represents εἰς ἱερατείαν in the same loose way as εἰς τὸ ὄνομα is translated 'in nomine.'

3. **christus ... a chrismate**] 'whence he (Aaron) was called the anointed.' The reference is to Lev. iv 3 הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστός.

5. **collecti sunt...filium**] Acts iv 27. The passage is quoted again *adu. Prax.* 28 with 'conuenerunt' for 'collecti sunt,' and 'uniuersi' inserted after 'enim.'

7. **currit**] perhaps literally 'runneth over us,' perhaps little more than 'takes place.' Cf. *adu. Marc.*

ipsius baptismi carnalis actus, quod in aqua mergimur, spiritalis effectus, quod delictis liberamur.

VIII. Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem aduocans et inuitans spiritum sanctum. sane humano ingenio licebit spiritum in aquam arcessere et concorporationem eorum

1 ipsius] spiritus ipsius A. 5 eorum, aerum S.

II 16 'cetera bona per quae opus bonum currit bonae seueritatis.' In *de Ieiun.* 11 'eidem deo currant' it seems to mean 'suit.' In *adu. Marc.* iii 5 Tert. uses 'allegorice cucurrisse,' for 'happened allegorically.' Possibly the alliteration with *carnaliter* influenced Tertullian in choosing the word.

1. **ipsius baptismi**] I.e. Baptism, as distinguished from its accompanying rites.

2. **quod delictis liberamur**] Dr Mason (*op. cit.* p. 63) points out how clearly Tertullian distinguishes the effect of the respective acts in the series, immersion cleansing from sin, unction consecrating to the priesthood, laying on of hands conferring the Holy Spirit. But see Harnack *H. of D.* ii 3 p. 141, E.T.

VIII. *The Imposition of the Hands which confers the Holy Spirit—analogy of an hydraulic organ—Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh laid his hands upon their head—significance of their cross-wise position—why the Holy Spirit descended upon the waters in the form of a Dove—why the Church resembles the Ark—the world, sinning a second time, reserved to fire.*

3. **manus imponitur**] Note that it is to this part of the rite that Tertullian definitely assigns the gift of the Holy Spirit. The value of his evidence on this point has perhaps not been given its due weight by Dr Hatch in what he says about the origin and efficacy of 'Imposition of Hands' (*Bampton Lectures*[3], 1888, v p. 133).

ib. **per benedictionem**] Cf. p. 18. 2, above.

4. **ingenio**] possibly means 'an engine.' Many examples of this sense will be found in Oehler's Index s.v. In this case it will be abl. not dative, and answer to 'in suo organo' below. Cf. p. 8. 1.

5. **spiritum arcessere**] The reference is to an hydraulic organ—see the detached note at the end of the ch. As the musician animates the compound of water and air with another breath of so clear a character—so God, by means of consecrated hands, evokes from His instrument (man) the lofty strains of the Spirit. The parallel is perhaps not entirely free from confusion of thought. The various members respectively correspond to one another thus—the organ to the candidate for Baptism: the player to God: the fingers of the player to the hands of the giver of the blessing: the 'mixture of water and air' to Baptism with 'Confirmation': the tune evoked from the organ to the spiritual grandeur which is conferred. Attention should be given to two points (1) the effect upon the comparison of the fact that *spiritus* corresponds in Latin to (*a*) the actual air of the bellows, (*b*) the tuneful breath issuing from the pipes, (*c*) the Holy Spirit; and (2) to the bearing of the phrase *concorporatio eorum* upon the relation of Confirmation to Baptism.

ib. **concorporationem**] This and *incorp.* were the Latin renderings of ἐνανθρώπησις (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 p. 42; see also Sanday and Headlam on Rom. vi 5, σύμφυτοι, and cf. Tennyson's 'grow *incorporate* unto thee'). The word is late and ecclesiastical. The noun occurs *adu.*

accommodatis desuper manibus alio spiritu tantae claritatis animare, deo autem in suo organo non licebit per manus sanctas sublimitatem modulari spiritalem? sed est hoc quoque de ueteri sacramento, quo nepotes suos ex Ioseph, Ephrem et Manassem, Iacob capitibus impositis et intermutatis manibus benedixerit, et quidem ita transuersim obliquatis in se, ut Christum deformantes iam tunc portenderent benedictionem in Christum futuram. tunc ille sanctissimus spiritus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens a patre descendit, super baptismi aquas tamquam pristinam sedem recognoscens con-

4 Efrem ABa, Ephraim Ub. 7 Chreston S. deformantis A, deformantes B. 9 labens S. et super I.

Marc. iv 4 'concorporatio legis et prophetarum.' For the verb cf. *de Pudic.* 5, where it is explained by the synonyms *coniungimur*, *adunamur*. The adj. is found in the Vulgate of Eph. iii 6 'Gentes esse cohaeredes et concorporales...' (σύσσωμα). It refers here to the 'union' of wind and water in the hydraulic organ.

4. **de ueteri sacramento**] For the use of *s.* for the Old Dispensation see on i 1. The reference is to Gen. xlviii 14. Once more Tert. makes no claim to a direct institution of Christ.

6. **obliquatis in se**] 'crossed the one over the other.' So St Francis of Assisi is said to have crossed his arms when blessing Elias and Bernard de Quintavalle, bringing his right hand over the head of Bernard, whose humility had made him choose the inferior position on the left.

7. **Christum deformantes**] 'representing Christ in a figure,' i.e. either the Cross, or the initial letter X (cf. Novatian *de Trin.* xxvii *fin.*; Aug. *Conf.* x § 52). Oehler follows Rigalt in preferring the former, on the ground that nations, to whom X was not alphabetically the first letter of Christus, might yet understand thereby Christ on the Cross. On the other hand Tertullian might as well have said 'crucem def.'; and in all the context he is dwelling on anointing with the Spirit, and here particularly on the blessing that was to come *on* Christ (note 'in Christ*um*'), not, in the first instance, *through* Christ. *Deformare* means, as van d. Vliet explains it, 'primam materiae fingendae delineationem imponere'; and is so used *Apol.* 12 'Quod simulacrum non prius argilla deformat cruci et stipiti superstructa,' and *adu. Hermog.* 26, if the reading is sound.

It is possible that Tertullian's language is influenced by 1 Pet. i 11.

9. **libens**] must, I think, be right. It recurs in Isidore's reproduction of the passage, and is supported by Leidrad *de Sacr. Bapt.* vii 'The laying on of the Hand is used ... Thereupon that Comforter...willingly descends from the Father.' And Rabanus *de Cleric. Instit.* xxx 'The Holy Ghost Himself...willingly descends from the Father to sanctify and enlighten by His visitation His own vessel,' Mason *op. cit.* pp. 218, 227. Scaliger's *labens* is neat, but rather pleonastic. Klussmann approves of Junius' *et super*.

10. **pristinam sedem**] Isidore,

quiescit, columbae figura delapsus in dominum, ut natura spiritus sancti declararetur per animal simplicitatis et innocentiae, quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careat columba. ideoque, estote, inquit, simplices sicut columbae; ne hoc quidem sine argumento praecedentis figurae. quemadmodum enim post aquas diluuii, quibus iniquitas antiqua purgata est, post baptismum, ut ita dixerim, mundi pacem caelestis irae praeco columba terris adnuntiauit dimissa ex arca et cum olea reuersa, quod signum etiam apud nationes paci praetenditur, eadem dispositione spiritalis effectus terrae, id est carni nostrae, emergenti de lauacro post uetera delicta columba sancti spiritus

9 apud etiam A, etiam apud B. 11 emergendi A, emergenti B.

mistaking the construction, prefixes *super*. The reference is to Gen. i 1, cf. ch. iii above.

1. **columbae figura**] Mt. iii 16, Mk i 10, Lk. iii 22, Jn i 32.

2. **animal simplicitatis et innocentiae**] The genitive with a substantive in place of an adjective (e.g. cupiditates libidinum) is said to be a Semitism, due to the paucity of adjectives in that group of languages. It is one of the points alleged by those who see in Tertullian's Latinity a Punic groundwork overlaid with Latin. Sittl (cf. note on vi 2), who classes it under *Tumor Africanus* ('Punic Redundancy'), notes that it is frequent in Minucius Felix, but adds 'Tertullian, wie es scheint, frei.' Perhaps this passage escaped him.

3. **felle careat**] The dove was believed by the ancients to have no gall in its body; cf. Cyprian *de Unit. Eccl.* ix 'animal non felle amarum,' and Rufin. *in Ps. lxvii* 'Sancta ecclesia merito dicitur columba, quia fel amaritudinis non habet, et quia uirtute simplicitatis pollet.' See further in Suicer s.v. περιστερά, and Pliny *H.N.* xi 74. Tertullian mentions the 'simplicitas' of the dove again, its harmlessness, and its chastity, in *de Monog.* 9 (cf. Pliny *H.N.* x 34, and Isid. *Etym.* vii 3. 22). Tertullian's notions of natural history were in no way in advance of his time. He believed that the hyaena changed its sex annually (*de Pall.* 3), that the 'castor' was so called as 'castrator carnis' (*adu. Marc.* i 1), that the adder borrowed poison from the viper (*adu. Marc.* iii 8 *init.*), and the usual legend about the phenix (*de Res. Carn.* 13). Mayor on Juv. xii 34 has a rich collection of references to this subject.

4. **estote**] Matt. x 16.

5. **argumento**] 'token' or 'indication.'

6. **post aquas diluuii**] Gen. viii 11.

8. **praeco columba**] Oehler refers for this in his Index to *adu. Hermog.* 35. Cp. *adu. Valent.* 2 *ad fin.*, 'Illa et a primordio diuinae pacis praeco.'

9. **praetenditur**] 'is held forth as.' Commonly in Tertullian the verb means 'to be on guard,' e.g. in *de Pudic.* 17 he says of St Paul's Epistles 'omnes pro pudicitia, pro castitate, pro sanctitate praetendunt,' where see a full note of Oehler.

10. **terrae**] queried by Höfling (*op. cit.* p. 488 § 91); without, I think, sufficient reason.

aduolat pacem dei adferens, emissa de caelis, ubi ecclesia est arca figurata. sed mundus rursus deliquit; quo male comparatur baptismus diluuio. itaque igni destinatur, sicut et homo qui post baptismum delicta restaurat, ut hoc quoque in signum admonitionis nostrae debeat accipi.

2 sed] Si et I. deliquit ABa, delinquit Ub. comparetur ABab, comparatur I. 3 Diluuio itaque ignis I.

1. **de caelis, ubi ecclesia est arca figurata**] Tertullian's conception of the Church shifted somewhat with his progress from orthodoxy to Montanism, and was at no time consistent, because of his power of combining an ideal conception of what might be with an accurate perception of what was. In his earlier writings he seems to have thought of the Church somewhat as follows: The Church is an assembly of believers, realized only in Heaven, whose existence is inseparably connected with the Ascended Christ and the Holy Spirit: the Church on earth is an image of that above, and Christians are as exiles in a foreign land, their real commonwealth is in Heaven; from its very nature it cannot be realized here below.

But, if this was one side of Tertullian's conception, there was another and less ideal side, which may be studied in the following passages, arranged roughly in order of time: *de Paenit.* 10, *de Orat.* 2. 28, *Apol.* 39, *de Exhort. Cast.* 7, *de Monog.* 7. 12, *de Pudic.* 21. See further in Harnack, *Hist. of Doctr.* i p. 152 and ii p. 73 E.T.; d'Alès, *La Théol. de Tert.* p. 215; and Adam *Der Kirchenbegriff Tertullians* p. 88 foll.

2. **arca**] Dodgson translates this as nominative 'Wherein is the Church, the prefigured Ark.' Better, I think, ablative, 'prefigured by the Ark.' Cf. *de Idol.* 24 and Jer. *in Lucif.* p. 195, 'Arca Noë ecclesiae typus fuit.'

ib. **male comparatur**] Because after the Deluge the world returned to sin.

3. **igni destinatur**] 2 Pet. iii 7.

4. **restaurat**] For this *instaurat* would be used in classical Latin. The verb had in legal Latin the sense of 'to make good what has been destroyed,' and is used of rebuilding a wall in the Vulgate of 1 Macc. x 44.

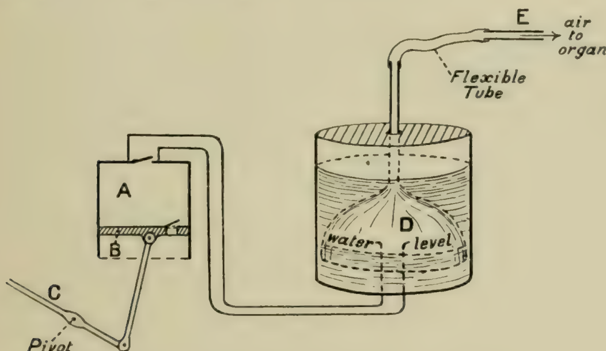
5. **in signum**] Cf. 1 Cor. x 11.

DETACHED NOTE ON THE HYDRAULIC ORGAN.

The general meaning of Tertullian's words is plain enough, but doubt arises about some of the details from the obscurity which hangs over the working of these early instruments. The subject may conveniently be studied in Dr E. J. Rimbault 'Historical Summary' prefixed to Dr E. F. Hopkins *The Organ*[3], Lond. 1877, and authorities there mentioned; Kraus, article '*Orgel*' in Hauck's *Realencycl.*; R. Lunn, article '*Organ*' in Smith and Cheetham *D.C.A.*; von Jan, article '*Flöten*' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*. Our main authority is a description in

Vitruvius (*de Architect.* x 11, with Perrault's notes). The passage may be found at length in Rimbault-Hopkins, with Newton's translation. (Reference may further be made to Kircher *Musurgia* ix p. 332; Isaac Vossius *De Poem. cantu et viribus Rhythmi* p. 100; Dr Burney *Hist. of Music* i 491; Bennet Woodcroft *The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria*, 4to, 1851, with drawing).

The general idea of the hydraulic organ was as follows: The early bellows were small, and exerted an irregular pressure of wind. That difficulty is now surmounted by the device of the wind-chest; but, before wind-chests were invented, an attempt was made to regulate the flow of air by water pressure. The way in which that was managed was this: (1) A piston, sliding in a cylinder and operated by a rocking-beam, pumped air into an inverted hemisphere contained in a receptacle of water. (2) The pressure of the water kept the hemisphere down at the bottom, unless air entering from the cylinder forced it up. (3) When the pressure was released, the water in the receptacle would depress the hemisphere, and the air imprisoned within it would escape through a valve at the top to the organ-pipes with some steadiness of supply. Perhaps the following diagram will help to explain the operation:



A. Cylinder for forcing air into the large receptacle.
B. Piston with valve, operated by
C. Rocking-lever.
D. Hemisphere, rising and falling in the water, and allowing air to escape at *E*.

Some differences will be discovered between my diagram and those given elsewhere, but, as I do not claim any degree of certainty for mine, only higher probability, I will not discuss them.

Let us, now, examine Tertullian's statements in the light of what has been said. Tertullian says that the player, '*accommodatis desuper manibus* (adjusting his hands from above) summons breath into the water, and animates the union (*concorporatio*) of the two with another breath...'&c. *Accommodatis desuper manibus* suggests the position of the hands over a modern key-board. But, as these are not known to have been used till the great organ was built at Magdeburg at the end of

IX. Quot igitur patrocinia naturae, quot priuilegia gratiae, quot sollemnia disciplinae, figurae, praestructiones, precationes, religionem aquae ordinauerunt? primo quidem cum populus de Aegypto liber et expeditus uim regis Aegypti per aquam transgressus euadit, ipsum regem cum totis copiis aqua extinxit. quae figura manifestior in baptismi sacramento? liberantur de saeculo nationes per aquam scilicet et diabolum dominatorem pristinum in aqua oppressum derelinquunt. item

1, 2 quod *ter* A, quot B. 4 libere expeditus ABaO, liber U (*del.* exped.), *om.* libere b. 8 derelinquit A, derelinquunt B.

the xith cent., it is safer to explain it of opening the pipes by means of slides, called 'linguae'—or some process of the kind.

A cut on p. 577 of Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, vol. ii, shows a player of an early organ in position. That Tertullian did not clearly understand the mechanism of the instrument is plain not only from this passage, but from the uncritical wonder with which he writes of the organ elsewhere (*de Anim.* 14). In this respect he is in good company, as Augustine betrays a like ignorance (*in Ps. cl*). The Fathers were impressed by the marvels of organ-construction, but not familiar with the details (Bp Wordsworth *Ministry of Grace* p. 199); and, if Tertullian had read the descriptions of Vitruvius and Hero referred to above—as he may have done—we can hardly blame him if he found them puzzling.

IX. *Various instances from Scripture of the beneficent work of water: the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea—Moses cured the bitter waters, so Christ made water wholesome for Baptism—the 'Rock' that followed the Israelites—Christ baptized in water—wrought His first miracle with water—sat down by the well—walked upon the sea—water flowed from His stricken side.*

1. **patrocinia**] 'helps of nature.' The word means the kind of support which a 'patronus' would give a 'cliens.' In *ad Natt.* ii 6 'humanae doctrinae patrocinia' means 'pretensions of human learning.' In *de Anim.* 13 'mastership' or 'ownership' seems to be the meaning, as in *de Patient.* 16, and in *adu. Valent.* 1 'prestige.'

2. **sollemnia**] Dodgson joins this to *disciplinae* 'rites of religious discipline.'

ib. **praestructiones**] 'preparation' or 'laying of a foundation.' Cf. *adu. Marc.* iv 14 'In euangelii sui praestructionem,' and *de Res. Carn.* 18 'Hucusque praestructionibus egerim,' and compare the use of the adverb in 'Multa dicendum fuit, ut ad hominem praestructim perueniretur' (*de Pall.* 3), and of the verb, as in Oehler.

3. **religionem aquae**] Cf. x 8 below, 'baptismi religionem.'

ib. **ordinauerunt**] See on p. 54. 5, below.

4. **liber et**] a good emendation of the Vienna editors for *libere.*

6. **sacramento**] See on i 1, above.

7. **nationes**] Cf. v 5 above. It was an attempt to replace ἔθνη by a Latin word. *Ethnici* was common: *gentes* commoner still.

ib. **diabolum**] See p. 12. 13, above.

aqua de amaritudinis uitio in usum commodum suauitatis Mosei ligno remediatur. lignum illud erat Christus uenenatae et amarae retro naturae uenas in saluberrimas aquas baptismi scilicet ex sese remedians. haec est aqua, quae de comite petra populo defluebat. si enim petra Christus, sine dubio aqua in Christo baptismum uidemus benedici. quanta aquae gratia penes deum et Christum eius est ad baptismi confirmationem! numquam sine aqua Christus: siquidem et ipse aqua tinguitur; prima rudimenta potestatis suae uocatus ad nuptias aqua auspicatur; cum sermonem facit, sitientes ad aquam suam inuitat sempiternam; cum de agape docet, aquae

1 suum ABa, usum LIb. commodae R. 3 insaluberrimas ABISb, in s. a. 6 aqua in ABa, aquae in Ub. 'praedici *fort.*' R.

1. **commodum**] 'to its profitable use of sweetness.' The alteration of the Vienna editors to 'commodae' seems unnecessary.

ib. **Mosei**] This form of the genitive may be compared with 'Achillei.'

2. **remediatur**] See p. 14. 8, above.

ib. **lignum illud erat Christus**] The form of the sentence is suggested by the coming quotation from 1 Cor. x 4. It is perhaps noticeable that Tert. does not, like Justin, *Dial.* 86, refer the 'lignum' directly to the Cross.

3. **retro**] 'formerly': see note on p. 16, above.

ib. **uenas**] 'streams.'

4. **de comite petra**] 1 Cor. x 4.

6. **aqua**] If this be retained, translate 'We see baptism in Christ blessed (i.e. performed to the blessing of the recipient) with water.' If *aquae* be accepted, it may be taken with *baptismus* like τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος in Eph. v 26. If the text is to be altered, 'aquam in Christi baptismum' or 'aquam in Christo *in* baptismum benedici,' may be suggested. The *in* might easily have been passed over the second time. Classical authors wrote *bene dico* as two words, and used it with a dative. In eccl. Latin *benedico* is one word, and commonly transitive (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 p. 72; ii p. 117).

7. **penes**] See on p. 12. 7, above.

8. **ipse aqua tinguitur**] Matt. iii 13, Mk i 9, Lk. iii 21, Joh. i 32.

9. **prima rudimenta...auspicatur**] Joh. ii 2. *Rudimentum* is properly the state of being a recruit (cf. 'Rudimentum adulescentiae ponere,' Livy xxxi 4). Translate 'He inaugurates with water the first steps of His power.' Cf. *adu. Hermog.* 28 and *de Res. Carn.* 7.

10. **sitientes inuitat**] Joh. iv 14.

11. **agape**] According to Koffmane (*op. cit.* i 1 p. 9) the technical meaning of *agape* 'love-feast' in eccl. Latin was earlier than the general sense of 'love' or 'charity.' Spelt in Latin letters it occurs as the name of an aeon *adu. Valent.* 8 and *de Ieiun.* 17, and in Greek it is read (doubtfully) *Apol.* 39 '(Cena nostra) uocatur quod dilectio penes Graecos,' where some MSS read 'uocatur ἀγάπη id quod dilectio,' etc. The reference is to Mt. x 42.

calicem pauperi oblatum inter opera dilectionis probat; apud puteum uires resumit, super aquam incedit, libenter transfretat, aquam discentibus ministrat. perseuerat testimonium baptismi usque ad passionem: cum deditur in crucem, aqua interuenit; sciunt Pilati manus: cum uulneratur, aqua de latere prorumpit; scit lancea militis.

X. Diximus, quantum mediocritati nostrae licuit, de uniuersis quae baptismi religionem struunt; nunc ad reliquum statum eius aeque ut potero progrediar de quaestiunculis quibusdam. baptismus ab Iohanne denuntiatus iam tunc habuit

1 patri AB, fratri a, pauperi Ub.

1. **apud puteum**] Joh. iv 1.
2. **super aquam incedit**] Mt. xiv 25, Mk vi 48, Joh. vi 19.
ib. **transfretat**] Mt. xiv 34. A post-Aug. word. It occurs Lk. viii 22 (Vg.). It is used in *de Paenit.* 1 'Vitae conuersationem sine gubernaculo rationis transfretantes.' The adj. *transfretanus* occurs *Apol.* 25.
3. **aquam...ministrat**] Joh. xiii 5.
ib. **discentibus**] The present participle is used in this substantival way in classical Latin: cf. 'Verbis praecipiens discentibus unde quo quamque lineam scriberent' (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v 39. 113), but its use was widely extended later (Koffmane i 1 pp. 53, 76). It is Tertullian's regular word for οἱ μαθηταί (e.g. p. 32. 15, p. 47. 4), though *discipuli* was already in use, e.g. p. 31. 15 (a quot. from Joh. iv 2) and p. 32. 13.
ib. **perseuerat**] both trans. and intrans. In *Apol.* 9 the reading varies: in *de Patient.* 5 'patientiam perseuerasset' is an emendation of Salmasius for 'perseruasset': in *de Pall.* 5 there is a v.l. in which it has an accus. after it. Here it is probably intransitive, 'The testimony continues.'
4. **aqua interuenit**] Mt. xxvii 24.
5. **sciunt...scit**] Cf. p. 13. 8, above.
ib. **aqua...prorumpit**] Joh. xix 34.

X. *The foundations of Baptism having now been discussed, the author treats of certain particular points; and first of John's Baptism. It was of Divine appointment, but of only human efficacy, for, though it ministered to that which was heavenly, it could of itself bestow no heavenly gift. This is proved both from our Lord's own statements, and from the evidence of the Acts—the Holy Spirit of prophecy left John before his death, and he himself testified that his Baptism was for the remission of sins only, and preparatory to a greater Baptism to come. Hence a pretended and weak faith is baptized with fire unto judgement.*

7. **mediocritati**] For similar instances of self-depreciation see ch. xx *ad fin.*, *ad Natt.* ii 7, *de Cult. Fem.* ii 7, and *de Patient.* 1. In both of the latter Tert. calls himself *miserrimus*, and in the last he modestly protests that he is of all men least gifted with the quality about which he is going to write.
8. **baptismi religionem**] Cf. 'religionem aquae ordinauerunt,' ix 3, above.
10. **baptismus ... denuntiatus**] Acts x 37.
ib. **habuit quaestionem**] 'gave rise to'—a rare sense of *habeo*. Cf.

quaestionem, ab ipso quidem domino propositam Pharisaeis, caelestisne is baptismus esset an uero terrenus? de quo illi non ualuerunt constanter respondere, utpote non intellegentes, quia nec credentes. nos porro quantula fide sumus, tantulo et intellectu possumus aestimare diuinum quidem eum baptismum fuisse, mandatu tamen, non et potestate, quod et Iohannem a domino missum legimus in hoc munus, ceterum humanum condicione. nihil enim caeleste praestabat, sed caelestibus praeministrabat paenitentiae scilicet praepositus, quae est in hominis potestate. denique legis doctores et Pharisaei, qui credere noluerunt, nec paenitentiam egere. quod

6 mandatum A, mandatu B. 11 agere AB, egere Lab *Harrisius*. Denique—egere *fort. delenda censet Harnack*.

however, 'latrocinia nullam habent infamiam,' Caes. *B.G.* vi 23. 6. It is a common enough meaning of ἔχειν, as in the passage of Thuc. i, which must have been in Caesar's mind when he wrote the words quoted (so too ἀγανάκτησιν and κατάμεμψιν ἔχειν Thuc. ii 41); and Tertullian may have had ζήτησιν εἶχε, or something of the sort, from his earlier Greek treatise, before him when he wrote these words.

2. **caelestisne**] Mt. xxi 25, Mk xi 30.

3. **constanter**] 'Fearlessly,' 'without hesitation.' Cf. *de Spect.* 26 'constanter...inquit'; and *de Patient.* 3.

ib. **utpote**] Cf. p. 32. 16, below. Quite classical with a participle. There is a v.l. in *de Carn. Chr.* 6 'utputa,' which is also classical, but rare.

ib. **non intellegentes quia nec credentes**] Is. vii 9. Tertullian's reading here is one of the cases where he has either translated direct from LXX, or used an O.L. Version made from LXX. The Hebr. is

אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ׃

'*If ye believe not* (have not firm confidence) *ye will not be confirmed.*' Cf. for the paronomasia 2 Chr. xx 20. The LXX, misunderstanding, rendered: ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε, but Vg. correctly 'Si non credideritis, non permanebitis.' Augustine records the variation in a well-known passage: 'Item illud eiusdem Isaiae prophetae, *Nisi cr. non intellegetis*, alius interpretatus est, *Nisi cr. non permanebitis*,' *de Doct. Christ.* ii § 17. It is the source of the famous *Crede ut intellegas*.

4. **porro**] The word in Tert. has an adversative force: see Oehler on *de Cor.* 7.

8. **humanum**] perhaps agrees with *eum baptismum* l. 5, and corresponds to *diuinum quidem*. In accordance with this view I have put a comma after *munus*. The *nihil enim caeleste praestabat* of l. 8 is a strong argument for taking it so. Cf. also *humanum Ioh. baptismum* p. 34. 8, below. Reifferscheid seems to imply by his punctuation that he refers it to *Iohannem*, l. 7; for which view *tamen* is a strong argument.

9. **praeministrabat**] The *prae* is emphatic. Cf. *adu. Marc.* v 6 'Medio spatio saeculorum in figuris et aenigmatibus et allegoriis praeministrauit.' Contrast p. 32. 6.

11. **nec**] for 'ne...quidem,' 'did

si paenitentia humanum est, et baptismus ipsius eiusdem condicionis fuerit necesse est, aut daret et spiritum sanctum et remissionem delictorum, si caelestis fuisset. sed neque peccatum dimittit neque spiritum indulget nisi deus solus. etiam ipse dominus, nisi ipse prius ascenderet ad patrem, aliter negauit spiritum descensurum. id quod dominus nondum conferebat, seruus utique praestare non potuisset. adeo postea in Actis Apostolorum inuenimus, quoniam, qui Iohannis baptismum habebant, non accepissent spiritum sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem nouerant. ergo non erat caeleste, quod caelestia non exhibebat, cum ipsum, quod caeleste in Iohanne fuerat, spiritus prophetiae, post totius spiritus in dominum translationem usque adeo defecerit, ut quem praedicauerat,

7 praestare non posset ABa, praestare posset? b, potuisset R. 12 s. et prophetiae A, s. prophetiae B.

not...either' (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 2 § 4, p. 135).

ib. **paenitentiam egere]** This was one of the phrases adopted to avoid the clumsiness of the impersonal *paenitet.* Others are *paenitere, paeniteri* (*de Paenit.* 4, in a quotation), *paenitudinem* or *paenitentiam gerere,* and *paenitentiam inire* (Koffmane i 1 p. 70; ii p. 107). 'Paenitentiam agite' is not an exact translation of μετανοεῖτε, but the common translation 'Do penance' does not fairly represent the original meaning of 'Paenitentiam agite.' For the 'famous difficulty' which this caused to Luther see Burkitt *The O.L. and the Itala* p. 4. If *agere* be read, *uoluerunt* must be understood from *noluerunt.*

1. **si paenitentia humanum est]** Tertullian in the treatise *de Paenit.* never once betrays any consciousness that the will to repent must come from God. A later writer would have expressed himself more guardedly, or he would have exposed himself to a charge of Pelagianism.

2. **sp. sanctum, rem. delictorum]** the characteristic gifts of Baptism (and Confirmation).

5. **nisi ipse prius]** Joh. xvi 7.

7. **utique]** See on iii 5, above.

ib. **potuisset]** An easy, but not indispensable, correction.

8. **Actis]** *Actus* is the usual form of the nominative in MSS of the Vulgate and in the Fathers, and *Actuum, Actibus* of the genitive and dative. *Acta* however is found fairly often. The Thesaurus gives six other references to Tert. besides this one.

ib. **quoniam...non accepissent]** 'that they had not received.'

ib. **Iohannis baptismum]** Acts xix 2.

12. **sp. prophetiae...defecerit]** This statement is repeated in *de Praescr. Haeret.* 10, *adu. Marc.* iv 18. I do not know whence Tertullian derived it: it appears to be peculiar to him, and the contrary is affirmed by a number of Fathers, as may be seen in note *e* of Dodgson's *Transl.* p. 268.

quem aduenientem designauerat, postmodum an ipse esset miserit sciscitatum. agebatur itaque baptismus paenitentiae quasi candidatus remissionis et sanctificationis in Christo subsecuturae. nam quod praedicabat baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem delictorum, in futuram remissionem enuntiatum est: siquidem paenitentia antecedit, remissio subsequitur, et hoc est uiam praeparare; qui autem praeparat, non idem ipse perficit, sed alii perficiendum procurat. ipse profitetur sua non esse caelestia, sed Christi, dicendo: qui de terra est, de terra loquitur; qui de supernis uenit, super omnes est: item in sola se paenitentia tinguere, uenturum mox qui tingueret in spiritu et igni. scilicet quia uera et stabilis fides aqua tinguitur in salutem, simulata autem et infirma igni tinguitur in iudicium.

XI. Sed ecce, inquiunt, uenit dominus et non tinxit. legimus enim: et tamen is non tinguebat, uerum discipuli eius.

8 perfecit A, perficit Bab. 10 in sola Ub, sola se *cett.* 12 stabilis aquae fides qua ABab, stabilis fides aqua OR *e coni. Rig.*

1. **postmodum**] A rare variant of *postmodo.*

2. **miserit sciscitatum**] Mt. xi 3.

3. **candidatus**] 'an applicant for remission,' like 'candidatus timoris,' in *ad Uxor.* ii 7. Cf. 'nos angelorum, si meruimus, candidati,' *de Orat.* 3. In *de Cor.* 7 Tert. uses 'candidati diaboli' of the devil's suitors.

8. **procurat**] See on p. 8. 7, above.

9. **qui de terra est**] Joh. iii 31. It is natural to take these words as being part of the speech ascribed to the Baptist; but see Westcott *in loc.*

11. **paenitentia**] The sense seems to require 'in solam se paenitentiam,' or 'sola se aqua in paenitentiam.' If the ablative be read, it must, I think, be with 'in.' At the same time the value of the prepositions was decaying both in Greek and Latin, a fact which must be remembered in a case like this (see an article by the Dean of Westminster in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1906, p. 189, note 2).

ib. **uenturum**] Mt. iii 11.

12. **aqua**] This emendation of Rigalt seems required for the necessary antithesis to *igni.*

13. **igni**] The commentaries will show that this 'fire' is variously explained. Of the interpretations proposed I prefer that which takes it of the 'fiery trials' which await the converts: cf. Mk x 38, 39; Lk. xii 50.

XI. *This ch. discusses the question whether or no our Lord Himself baptized. Tertullian decides that He only did so on the principle of 'Qui facit per alium facit per se,' and that the expressions in which it is asserted of the Lord are literally true only of the disciples. Their Baptism must have been, like that of John, preparatory; as the rite could not be made effectual till after the Resurrection.*

15. **et tamen**] Joh. iv 2.

quasi reuera ipsum suis manibus tincturum Iohannes praedicasset. non utique sic intellegendum est, sed simpliciter dictum more communi, sicut est uerbi gratia: imperator proposuit edictum aut praefectus fustibus cecidit: numquid ipse proponit aut numquid ipse caedit? semper is dicitur facere, cui praeministratur. ita erit accipiendum, ipse uos tinguet, pro eo quod est, per ipsum tinguemini uel in ipsum. sed ne moueat quosdam quod non ipse tinguebat. in quem enim tingueret? in paenitentiam? quo ergo illi praecursor? in peccatorum remissionem, quam uerbo dabat? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabat? in spiritum sanctum, qui nondum ad patrem ascenderat? in ecclesiam, quam nondum apostoli struxerant? itaque tinguebant discipuli eius ut ministri, ut Iohannes antepraecursor, eodem baptismo Iohannis, ne qui alio putet, quia nec exstat alius nisi postea Christi, qui tunc utique a discentibus dari non poterat, utpote nondum adimpleta gloria domini, nec instructa efficacia lauacri per passionem et resurrectionem, quia

1 quasi AI, quia Bab. 5 caecidit A, caedit B. praeministratur A, fit A*mg*. 9 praecursorem *cett.* 11 spiritusancto A, spiritum sanctum B. ad p. ascenderat A, a p. desc. A*mg*BabO. 13 ante praecursor ABabO, antepr. R.

2. **utique**] See on iii 5, above.

3. **uerbi gratia**] 'for example,' as in Cic. *de Fin.* v 11. 30. Cf. *de Spectac.* 2.

5. **praeministratur**] A slightly different force of the preposition from that in p. 29. 9, above. There it referred to the preparatory work of the Baptist. Here it has the commoner force of 'on behalf of.'

9. **quo...praecursor**] The accusative here is difficult to explain, and I read the nominative, and explain the *-em* as due to the combined influence of (1) the many accusatives in the passage, and (2) the *in* which follows. The accusative, if retained, might be illustrated by Horace's 'Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?' *Ep.* I v 12.

12. **struxerant**] See p. 28. 8, above.

13. **antepraecursor**] See on p. 17. 3, above.

14. **eodem baptismo Iohannis**] See for this Westcott *ad loc.*, Mason *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*[2] p. 466; and Moberly as there referred to.

16. **utpote**] See on p. 29. 3, above.

ib. **adimpleta**] means 'fulfilled,' of a promise or prophecy (so Dig. xxvi. 7. 43), and is used somewhat as in *Clem. Recogn.* i 69 'Duos enim eius praedictos esse docuit aduentus; unum humilitatis, quem adimpleuit; alium gloriae...' &c.

17. **lauacri**] See on p. 54. 5, below.

ib. **resurrectionem**] For the connexion of Baptism with the Resurrection of Christ cf. Rom. vi

nec mors nostra dissolui posset nisi domini passione nec uita restitui sine resurrectione ipsius.

XII. Cum uero praescribitur nemini sine baptismo competere salutem, ex illa maxime pronuntiatione domini qui ait: nisi natus ex aqua quis erit, non habet uitam, suboriuntur scrupulosi, immo temerarii retractatus quorundam, quomodo ex ista praescriptione apostolis salus competat, quos tinctos non

2 surrectione ABa, res. Ib. 7 praescriptione, praestructione A, *om.* praestruct. A*mg*Bab.

4; Col. ii 12; 1 Pet. iii 21. See Westcott on Joh. iv 2, xx 22 sq.; Sanday and Headlam *Romans* pp. 116, 162. Dodgson refers to Leo *Ep.* xvi 3, and Jer. *adu. Lucif.* vii.

2. **resurrectione**] an almost certain emendation of Fr. Junius for the *surrectione* of B, which is practically a ἅπ. εἰρ. (elsewh. only Aratus i 314; cf. Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 p. 18, s.v. 'anastasis'). Kroymann (*Quaest. Tertull.* p. 76) proposes to alter *sine* to *nisi*, to agree with the *nisi* above. The *ni-* might easily have dropped out after restit*ui*.

XII. *'Except a man be born of water, he hath not life'—were, then, the Apostles baptized? This is no captious question, it has been propounded in view of difficulties which have been actually felt. They would have received John's Baptism and perhaps, in the special circumstance of their peculiar nearness to Christ, this may have been enough. In any case, our Lord promised salvation and the forgiveness of sins to one who had faith, though not baptized; and the Apostles had certainly faith. Such sprinklings or dippings in water as happened to the Apostles by accident cannot fairly be considered to have taken the place of Baptism.*

The question whether the Apostles were baptized or not, and, if so, by whom, is one to which various answers have been given. Chrys. *Hom.* 1 *in Act.* v agrees with Tertullian that they were baptized with water by John: Aug. *Ep.* cclxv 5, on the other hand, thinks that they were baptized by our Lord with water, not with the Holy Ghost.

3. **competere**] 'belong,' cf. for this sense *Dig.* xix 1. 25 'Mihi aduersus te actio competit'; Eum. *Pan. Const.* iv 'Hereditas competit alicui'; Just. *Inst.* i 5. 1 'Libertas seruo competere potest' (other examples in Dirksen s.v.). For a somewhat different sense see on p. 10. 9, above.

4. **pronuntiatione**] Cf. 'diuina pronuntiatio praecucurrit,' p. 4. 10, above.

5. **nisi natus**] Joh. iii 5. The quotation appears to be influenced by Joh. vi 53.

ib. **suboriuntur**] a rare verb, used three times in Lucr., where it means 'to arise from below.' Dodgson's 'Up come scrupulous questions' is spirited, and may very likely be right; but, considering the force of the preposition in *subostensa* p. 54. 7, below, I do not feel sure that 'are suggested' or 'hinted at' is not the true meaning.

6. **retractatus**] 'questions, disputings, doubts,' a rare word. 'Retractatio' is commoner.

7. **praescriptione**] if right, seems to mean 'rule,' cf. above, iii 3. It was a technical term of Roman Law like 'exceptio,' the Gk παραγραφή, a means of staying the direct trial of a suit by entering a demurrer. Tertullian used it in

inuenimus in domino praeter Paulum. immo cum Paulus solus ex illis baptismum Christi induerit, aut praeiudicatum esse de ceterorum periculo qui careant aqua Christi, ut praescriptio salua sit, aut rescindi praescriptionem, si etiam non tinctis salus statuta est. audiui, domino teste, eiusmodi, ne quis me tam perditum existimet, ut ultro excogitem libidine stili, quae aliis scrupulum incutiant. et nunc illis, ut potero, respondebo, qui negant apostolos tinctos. nam si humanum Iohannis baptismum inierant, et dominicum desiderabant, quatenus unum baptismum definierat ipse dominus dicens Petro perfundi uolenti: qui semel lauit, non habet necesse rursum, quod utique non tincto non omnino dixisset; et haec est

5 tinctus A, tinctis B. in eiusmodi A, in *del.* B. 6 et ultro excogitet libidinem A, et u. exagitet libidinem BI, ut u. exagitem libidinem La, u. u. exagitem libidine Ub, u. u. exagitet libidine *Wouw.*, excogitem O. 7 incutiant Ab, incutiat Ba. 10 definiebat U. 11 nolenti ABabO, uolenti IR.

this sense as the title of one of his treatises, but, having examined over fifty examples in his writings, I am convinced that 'rule' is its ordinary meaning in his works.

1. **in domino**] 'in Christo' is more usual.

2. **praeiudicatum esse**] depends, presumably, on the sense of saying contained in 'retractatus.' The 'ceterorum' in the next line probably includes others besides the Apostles who were unbaptized up to the time when Tert. wrote; hence the present tense, 'careant.' The objectors wish, by a *reductio ad absurdum*, to show that the 'praescriptio' is not absolute.

5. **eiusmodi**] See on p. 10. 12, above.

6. **libidine stili**] Cf. *Apol.* 48 'Si uelimus ad hanc partem lasciuire.' One wonders with what Tertullian had been charged, as, except in the *de Pallio*, he seems to be always in earnest, even when (perhaps, chiefly when) he is most bitterly ironical.

8. **nam si**] I do not think the passage is right as it stands, and suggest *qui* for *si* and the insertion of *non* before *et*. The meaning would then be 'For those who had undergone the human Baptism of John did not require that of the Lord also.' The reading in the text means, 'If they had received John's baptism, they desired also the Lord's'—a desire which, according to Tertullian, the Lord reproved. Or 'num' might be read, instead of 'nam.' Or 'quatenus' might be taken interrogatively: 'For if they had approached John's baptism (of water), and were feeling that they needed our Lord's baptism also, how comes it that our Lord declared one baptism only to be permissible?' In any case, *unum*, l. 10, is predicate.

ib. **humanum**] Cf. on p. 29. 8, above.

11. **lauit**] Joh. xiii 6—10. Intransitive again p. 45. 1, below.

probatio exerta aduersus illos qui adimunt apostolis etiam Iohannis baptismum, ut destruant aquae sacramentum. an credibile uideri potest in his personis uiam tunc domini non praeparatam, id est baptismum Iohannis, quae ad uiam domini per totum orbem aperiendam destinabantur? ipse dominus nullius paenitentiae debitor tinctus est: peccatoribus non fuit necesse? quod ergo alii tincti non sunt, non tamen comites Christi, sed aemuli fidei, legis doctores et Pharisaei. unde et suggeritur, cum aduersantes domini tingui noluerint, eos qui dominum sequebantur tinctos fuisse nec cum aemulis suis sapuisse, maxime quando dominus, cui adhaerebant, testimonio Iohannem extulisset, nemo, dicens, maior inter natos feminarum Iohanne baptizatore. alii plane satis coacte iniciunt tunc apostolos baptismi uicem implesse, cum in nauicula fluctibus

5 destinabatur ipse dominus A, destinabantur? Ipse B. 7 Quod ergo alii tincti non sunt ABI, Quid ergo? alii tincti non sunt abU (sint U). 8 fide AB, fidei a. Pharisaei? R, Pharisaei. *cett.* 9 et cum A, cum B. 10 ne A, nec B. 11 si cui A, cui Bab, si qui *Hartel*.

1. **exerta**] 'put forth,' specially used with verbal nouns, e.g. *mentio*, *adu. Marc.* v 2, *dignatio* p. 50. 6, below, *sententia*, *ad Uxor.* ii 2, and elsewhere. Dirksen gives examples of its use with similar nouns, e.g. *auctoritas*, *intentio*, *sententia*. In *Apol.* 37 'hostes exertos' means 'open,' or, 'avowed enemies,' but there is a v.l. 'exsortes.'

3. **personis**] 'persons,' late.

4. **id ... Iohannis**] possibly a gloss. Note the curious identification of the 'uia domini' with John's Baptism.

7. **quod**] Hartel (*Patristische Studien*) has, I think, greatly improved the sense here by putting a full stop at *Pharisaei*, and understanding *tincti non sunt* after *non tamen comites Christi*. 'If, therefore, others remained unbaptized, it was the enemies of the Faith who remained so, not the Apostles.' He compares for the construction: 'Quodcumque non licet in imperatorem, id nec in quemquam; quod in neminem, eo forsitan magis nec in ipsum...' *Apol.* 36, and 'Si enim pauculos tunc Iudaeos impiorum concilium uocauit, quantum magis tantum conuentum ethnici populi?' *de Spect.* 3.

9. **aduersantes**] for 'aduersarii,' late.

10. **nec cum aemulis suis sapuisse**] 'were not of the same mind with' (Dodgson). 'Sapuisse' may perhaps represent a φρονῆσαι in the Greek original.

12. **nemo**] Mt. xi 11.

13. **coacte**] 'drop a hint, surely sufficiently forced' (Dodgson). For *coacte* cf. 'Multo coactius Seneca... ait,' *de Anim.* 42.

14. **nauicula**] Mt. viii 24. It and *operti* both occur in Vg. of this passage. The diminutive probably comes from Mk iv 36.

adspersi operti sunt; ipsum quoque Petrum per mare ingredientem satis mersum. ut opinor autem, aliud adspergi uel intercipi uiolentia maris, aliud tingui disciplina religionis. ceterum nauicula illa figuram ecclesiae praeferebat, quod in mari, id est saeculo, fluctibus, id est persecutionibus et temptationibus, inquietatur, domino per patientiam uelut dormiente, donec orationibus sanctorum in ultimis suscitatus compescat saeculum et tranquillitatem suis reddat. nunc siue tincti quoquo modo fuerunt siue illoti perseuerauerunt, ut et illud dictum domini de uno lauacro sub Petri persona ad nos tantummodo spectet, de salute tamen apostolorum satis temerarium est aestimare, quia illis uel primae adlectionis et exinde indiuiduae

1 'dominum opperiti *fort.*' R, operti aspersi *Hartel.* 12 quae A, quia B.

3. **intercipi**] The word has sometimes in Tertullian a stronger meaning than that of 'caught by, overtaken by,' which it bears here. Cf. *ad Natt.* ii 6 'Neque minui, neque intercipi, neque corrumpi,' *de Res. Carn.* 42 'Deuoratum non aliud existimas quam interceptum, quam abolitum.'

ib. **disciplina religionis**] Cf. 'disciplina uerecundiae' p. 47. 6, below.

6. **per patientiam**] There seems to be a reference to Lk. xviii 7 where καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς becomes in Vulg. 'et patientiam habebit in illis.' Tertullian's Bible may have read 'habet.' The same idea is expressed in Rom. iii 26 by ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. In Rom. ii 4 ἀνοχή and *μακροθυμία* are coupled together. The Lord seems to sleep while evil is being wrought, but He will avenge speedily at last.

7. **in ultimis**] ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, Oehler. Rigalt fancifully thinks that *orationibus* refers to the petition 'adueniat regnum tuum.'

8. **saeculum**] and 'mundus' are used for 'the world' in opposition to God (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 § 19 p. 46).

10. **ad nos tantummodo spectet**] On the assumption that the Apostles had not received Baptism, our Lord's words (Joh. xiii 6) would be directed 'only' (tantummodo) to those who had, though spoken directly to St Peter.

12. **aestimare**] For examples of this verb in the sense of 'opinari' see Oehler's note *c* on *Apol.* 16.

ib. **adlectionis**] technically meant promotion to a higher office, before the duties of the lower had been fulfilled. So here it may mean 'a call to something higher.' Tertullian is fond of using it in connexion with something like 'ordination'; e.g. 'An ordo aliquis seorsum debebit institui monogamorum, de quo adlectio fiat in clerum?' *de Monog.* 12, and 'Ubi metus in deum...ibi adlectio explorata,' 'Where fear of God is, there is a clear case for advancement to the priesthood,' *de Praescr. Haeret.* 42. So, too, the verb is used in *de Exhort. Cast.* 7.

ib. **indiuiduae**] 'inseparable,' or, 'close'—a late meaning. In class. Latin it is used of atoms, and the like, and means literally 'indivisible.'

familiaritatis praerogatiua compendium baptismi conferre posset, cum illi, opinor, sequebantur illum qui credenti cuique salutem pollicebatur. fides tua te, aiebat, saluum fecit, et, remittentur tibi peccata, credenti utique nec tamen tincto. id si apostolis defuit, nescio quorum fide uno uerbo domini suscitatus teloneum dereliquit, patrem et nauem et artem qua uitam sustentabat deseruit, patris exsequias despexit, summum illius domini praeceptum, qui patrem aut matrem mihi praetulerit, non est me dignus, ante perfecit quam audiuit.

1 familiaritatis *pr.* cum illo I. 2 cum illo ABa, cum illi Ub, cumulo S, cum ilico *Hartel.* 3 remittentur A, remittuntur Bab. 5 quorum fides ABabU, quorsum fidens S, quorum fide O. suscitatus ABa, suscitata Ub. 7 qui patris ABa, *om.* qui b. illius ABa, illud UbOR.

1. **praerogatiua**] See on p. 10. 5, above.

ib. **compendium baptismi**] an interesting expression. Dodgson translates it 'all the benefit of.' Bearing in mind that it also means 'a saving,' or, 'a short cut to,' I think we may say that it implies that the Apostles received the benefits of Baptism without undergoing the whole of the normal rite. (Hartel translates it 'ein Surrogat der Taufe,' which strikes me as happy, though it introduces a different metaphor.) Cf. *adu. Marc.* v 12: in contrast with the dead, who will receive again their bodies at the last day, those who are then living 'compendium mortis consequentur,' i.e. 'will effect a saving of death,' 'will be spared the necessity of it,' by being clothed upon with the heavenly body without putting off the earthly one. κερδαίνειν and *lucri facere* are used in the same way.

2. **cum illi**] Scaliger proposed *cumulo*. This in form is close to the earlier reading *cum illo*. It would go with *conferre potest* 'as a bonus.' The objections to this are (1) it would make the beginning of the following sentence rather abrupt, and (2) this use of *cumulo* is hardly to be paralleled. Hartel (p. 12 of the article already mentioned) subsequently rejected his first suggestion of *cum ilico*, and proposed 'cum illum, opinor, sequebantur, illum qui...' For the tautology cf. *de Idol.* 11 'Quo ore...quo ore,' and *de Pudic.* 22 'Illius...eius.' But the reading of the text makes good sense.

3. **fides tua**] Mk x 52.

ib. **remittentur**] Mt. ix 2. Gelenius' *remittuntur* is found in Vulg. The Greek in the different Gospels varies between ἀφέωνται and ἀφίενται.

4. **id**] must refer back loosely to *fides*, or else to *credere*.

5. **quorum fide**] 'Hoc est, quibus rebus fidens,' Oehler; but it is unnatural. If *fides* be read, with a full stop after it, we get, 'I know not to whom faith (belongeth),' so Dodgson in his translation. Another suggestion is to put a full stop at 'nescio.' For 'si' in this sense, like 'utrum,' cf. *Apol.* 6 'respondeant uelim...si a nullo desciuerunt.' Or 'Nescio quorum fides ... suscitata' might be suggested.

ib. **teloneum**] τελώνειον, 'the custom house.' In *de Idol.* 12 three words recur, *teloneum*, *suscitatur*, and *derelinquunt*.

8. **qui patrem**] Mt. x 37.

XIII. Hic ergo scelestissimi illi prouocant quaestiones. adeo dicunt: baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est; nam et Abraham nullius aquae nisi fidei sacramento deo placuit. sed in omnibus posteriora concludunt et sequentia antecedentibus praeualent. fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante domini passionem et resurrectionem; at ubi fides aucta est credendi in natiuitatem, passionem, resurrectionemque eius, addita est ampliatio sacramento, obsignatio baptismi, uestimentum quodammodo fidei, quae retro erat nuda, nec potest

7 'credendo *fort.*' R. 8 sacramenti *Harnack.* 9 potest iam AbU, potentiam habuit A*mg*Ba.

XIII. *Some men, taking advantage of this principle, argue that Baptism is unnecessary where faith is present, and quote the case of Abraham. The answer is that things are now changed. Moreover, we have our Lord's express command to baptize all, and His warning that, unless 'born of water and the Spirit,' a man cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.*

1. **prouocant**] Generally in Tertullian the word means 'to call upon someone,' either with simple accus.: with infinitive: or with *ad* and the gerundive. I have not found any instance quite similar to this, though *adu. Marc.* v 1 is something like it.

3. **nullius...sacramento**] Kroymann (*Quaest. Tertull.* p. 76) proposes to remove either *aquae* or *nisi fidei*—the latter for choice. If the text be retained, 'nisi' may be explained as used in Tertullian's manner in a corrective way, like πλήν or εἰ μή in the N.T. Thus *adu. Marc.* iv 7 'cum nihil tale scriptura significet, nisi ('but rather on the contrary') uim sermonis admirationi fuisse.'

4. **posteriora concludunt**] sounds like a maxim of the courts: 'later instances settle a question, and that which happens after overrides precedent.'

5. **retro**] 'formerly': see on p. 15. 2, above.

7. **credendi**] may be right, and is in Tertullian's manner: 'faith which consists in a belief.' Reifferscheid's *credendo* supports a conjecture of my own.

ib. **in natiuitatem**] For the *in* cf. xvi 7, below, and Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 § 21 p. 52.

8. **ampliatio**] 'an enlargement.' In *adu. Valent.* 8 'ampliatus' is used in connexion with 'gloriosus, fortunatus'; and in *de Orat.* 6 'qui prouenientibus fructibus ampliationem horreorum' etc., it has a similar meaning to that in the present passage.

ib. **sacramento**] The suggestion of Harnack to read 'sacramenti' has much to recommend it: it is in Tertullian's manner, and is supported by *obsignatio baptismi* immediately following. If 'sacramento' be read, it seems to be used as 'fidei sacramento' line 3, above.

ib. **obsignatio**] See on vi 6.

9. **potest iam**] may perhaps be right: cf. *adu. Marc.* iv 24 'Si comminatio potest (*al.* non potest) sine executione' ('If there could be threatening without fulfilment'); *de Res. Carn.* 45 'magis illud prius est sine quo priora non possunt.'

iam sine sua lege. lex enim tinguendi imposita est et forma praescripta. ite, inquit, docete nationes tinguentes eas in nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. huic legi collata definitio illa, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non intrabit in regnum caelorum, obstrinxit fidem ad baptismi necessitatem. itaque omnes exinde credentes tinguebantur. tunc et Paulus, ubi credidit, tinctus est. et hoc est quod et dominus in illa plaga orbationis praeceperat, exsurge, dicens, et introi Damascum, illic tibi demonstrabitur, quid debeas agere, scilicet tingui, quod solum ei deerat. alioquin satis didicerat atque crediderat Nazarenum esse dominum dei filium.

XIV. Sed de ipso apostolo reuoluunt, quod dixerit, non enim me ad tinguendum Christus misit. quasi hoc argumento baptismus adimatur. cur enim tinxit Gaium et Crispum et Stephanae domum? quamquam etsi non eum miserat Christus

8 et dominus A, dominus Bab, ei dominus U.

2. **ite, inquit**] Mt. xxviii 19. In *adu. Prax.* 26 *fin.*, Tertullian uses the remarkable expression 'mandans ut tinguerent in patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum, non in unum' (where 'nomen' is omitted altogether). This 'eccentricity' is discussed by the Dean of Westminster, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1906, p. 200. See also his article on 'Baptism' in the *Encycl. Biblica*.

4. **definitio**] Seems to mean 'explanation' of a law previously given, or 'limitation' of a principle already expounded. Cf. 'Dure definitis loquendo,' *Apol.* 4 ('lay down the law'), and 'Ipse Dominus sententialiter et definitiue pronuntiauit,' *de Carn. Chr.* 18.

ib. **nisi quis**] Joh. iii 5.

8. **orbationis**] rare and late in this sense of 'blindness.' Cf. Sen. *Ep.* lxxxvii 35.

ib. **exsurge**] Acts xxii 10.

10. **alioquin**] 'otherwise,' another form of 'alioqui.' So p. 47. 2, below.

XIV. *Discussion of St Paul's case. He says 'Christ sent me not to baptize': but he also says 'I baptized Gaius and Crispus and the household of Stephanas.' He certainly says he preached, and, though preaching comes before baptizing, one who did the first could certainly have done the second also.*

13. **reuoluunt**] The word has the following meanings in Tertullian: (1) 'to read': e.g. 'Ex recordatione scripturarum, quas retro reuoluunt,' *adu. Marc.* v 14; (2) 'to raise an objection' as here: e.g. 'Quid reuoluis? Deus praecipit,' *de Paenit.* 4; and (3) 'to prove, examine': e.g. 'Uti reuoluamus utilitatis efficacia potestates illius officii,' *de Ieiun.* 7 ('that we may examine by the test of expediency...').

ib. **non enim**] 1 Cor. i 17.

15. **tinxit Gaium**] 1 Cor. i 14.

16. **quamquam etsi**] This redundancy is characteristic of the popular speech in many modern languages: it was creeping into literary Latin,

ad tinguendum, tamen aliis apostolis praeceperat tinguere. uerum haec pro condicione tunc temporis ad Corinthios scripta sunt, quoniam schismata et dissensiones inter illos mouebantur, dum alius Paulo deputat, alius Apollo. propter quod pacificus apostolus, ne sibi omnia defendere uideretur, non ad tinguendum ait se missum, sed ad praedicandum. nam et prius est praedicare, posterius tinguere: et prius praedicatum. puto autem, licuit et tinguere, cui licuit praedicare.

XV. Nescio si quid amplius ad controuersiam baptismi

4 Apollini *Harnack.* 7 et] Sed A, Si A*mg*Ba, Sed sit Ub, Sic O, et R.

though not specially common in Tertullian (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 2 § 8 p. 132).

2. **tunc temporis**] For *tunc* used like Gk τότε with the article, cf. Aug. *Conf.* VIII § 3 'patrem... tunc episcopi Ambrosii.'

3. **schismata et dissensiones**] 1 Cor. i 10. *Schisma* is one of the Greek words which were holding their own against the purist tendency (Koffmane i 1 p. 27; Hartel *Archiv. f. lat. Lexik.* iii 1 pp. 23, 33; Sittl *op. cit.* pp. 96, 117. 4). Tert. uses the word sometimes alone, as *de Praescr. Haeret.* 42; sometimes in combination with a synonym, as in *de Praescr. Haeret.* 26.

4. **alius Paulo deputat**] 1 Cor. i 11. I doubt whether the reading is sound. Tertullian uses two distinct verbs of the same form: (1) 'to prune' trees: e.g. *Apol.* 19; (2) 'to impute something to somebody,' in which sense it is very common in his writings, but otherwise it is ante-class. and comic (esp. Terence). As Oehler has dealt with it at some length on *de Idol.* 4, there is no need for a long discussion here. He construes it here with *omnia* from the next sentence. Perhaps *deputatur* or *alius se* or *Paulo se deputat* should be read.

5. **defendere**] used here in the sense of *uindicare*, 'to claim'; common in Tert. in this sense: see p. 48. 12, and examples in Oehler's Index s.v. and his note on *de Virg. Veland.* 6, van d. Vliet *Stud. Eccl.* pp. 33 and 62, and Rönsch *N. T. Tert.* p. 64. I think Oehler is wrong in referring to *de Spectac.* 29. It only means there 'to defend, stand up for,' as, of course, often.

7. **praedicare**] See for this word Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 p. 81.

8. **tinguere**] See on ii 8 above.

XV. *A brief mention of some points omitted.* '*Baptism* — our *Baptism—is one.*' *What, then, is to be believed of heretical Baptism? It is no Baptism. Heretics are incapable of having it or giving it. In what sense we speak of* '*one*' *Baptism.*

To take the latter point first, the context of Eph. iv 4 shows that the writer of that Epistle meant by 'one Baptism' primarily 'the same for all,' his point being the unity in Christ of Jewish and Gentile Churches. 'Not to be repeated,' the sense in which Tertullian uses the words, is an important and true sense, but not the one originally intended. The interpretation is not, however, peculiar to him.

In regard to the Baptism of heretics, it was some time before the question was finally settled—if it can be said to be settled now. Tertullian's view long prevailed in the African Church. In the time of Cyprian that Church found itself at variance with Rome in the matter.

uentilatur. sane retexam quod supra omisi, ne imminentes sensus uidear intercidere. unus omnino baptismus est nobis, tam ex domini euangelio quam ex apostoli litteris, quoniam unus deus et unum baptisma et una ecclesia in caelis. sed

3 tamen A, tam B. 4 unus et AB, unus dominus et *Pam.* L *Harris.*, unus deus et Ub. baptismum ABa, baptisma Ub.

Africa treated all heretical or schismatical Baptisms as absolutely null and void, while Rome—with her usual practical wisdom—made a compromise: the actual christening was recognised as valid, but the baptized was required to receive the Imposition of Hands. By the time of Augustine, a change had been brought about in Africa. The view which Tertullian sanctions was still held by the Donatists; but Augustine took the line that heretical Baptism conferred no grace indeed, no remission of sins, no new birth, no sonship to God, that the Holy Spirit is not present in it, that the character which it impresses upon the soul serves only to mark it for punishment—and yet that it is valid and not to be repeated.

Finally, almost the last words of the African Church, which was exterminated in the vith century, sound like an echo of these earlier words: 'Preserve therefore the grace of that Baptism which is but one, guarding the Unction of the Chrism. Let none, after the water, go back to the water, when once born again of the water.' (Eugenius *apud* Greg. Turon. *Hist. Fr.* ii 37 quoted in Mason *op. cit.* p. 109. I have borrowed freely from this work, esp. from pp. 66–110. Cf. also Benson's *Cyprian*: Kurz *Ch. Hist.* 1 § 35. 5 p. 201 E.T., Höfling *op. cit.* p. 63 and d'Alès, *op. cit.* p. 329, note 4.)

1. **uentilatur**] lit. 'to fan,' or 'winnow,' hence 'disceptare, tractare' (Dirksen, who quotes 'Illa etiam quaestio uentilata est apud plerosque'). The various meanings of the word in Tertullian may be arranged thus: (1) 'to make something pass through another like a current of air,' e.g. 'Ne principale istud per totum corpus uentilari putes' (corresponding to 'extrinsecus agitari') *de Anim.* 15; 'Odoratum in naribus uentilauit,' *de Cor.* 5, 'breathed smell into the nostrils,' perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. ii 7 (וַיִּפַּח בְּאַפָּיו נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים LXX ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, Vulg. 'inspirauit in faciem eius'). (2) 'to admit a current of air,' e.g. 'Ventilante serico,' *de Pall.* 4. (3) 'to air' or 'shake in the air,' e.g. 'Incutiat adhuc scorpius homicidam deum uentilans,' *Scorp.* 7. Cf. Juv. i 28, 'uentilat aestiuum digitis sudantibus aurum.' (4) 'to talk much of, prate about,' e.g. 'Quo nunc facit ad infuscandam originem carnis nomen terrae uentilare,' *de Res. Carn.* 6.

ib. **retexam**] properly 'to undo what has been woven.' Then 'to pick up dropped threads' and so 'go over again.' So here: 'I will go through and see what I may have passed over.' Sometimes Tert. uses it for 'to repeat': e.g. 'Cur non credatis talia retexentibus de deis uestris?' *adu. Natt.* ii 7; 'Igitur, ut retexam,' *de Res. Carn.* 9, where I venture to differ from Oehler: 'Retexens promissionem,' *de Carn. Chr.* 22: and sometimes for 'to go over again': 'Longum est retexere Curtios et Regulos,' *de Testim. Anim.* 4.

ib. **imminentes sensus**] 'the train of thoughts immediately pressing,' Dodgson.

4. **unum baptisma**] Eph. iv 4.

circa haereticos sane quid custodiendum sit, digne quis retractet. ad nos enim editum est. haeretici autem nullum habent consortium nostrae disciplinae, quos extraneos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi est praeceptum, quia non idem deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est idem, ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem; quem cum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent, nec capit numerari quod non habetur; ita nec possunt accipere, quia non habent. sed de isto plenius iam nobis in Graeco digestum est. semel ergo lauacrum inimus,

1 quae ABO, quid abR. 5 agnoscere *Semler*.

1. **quid custodiendum sit**] 'what is to be observed' τίνα φυλακτέον, Oehler, who reads *quae*. See, for Tertullian's views, *de Praescr. Haeret.* 41 (heretic women presume to baptize), and *de Pudic.* 19 'haereticus per baptisma ueritatis utroque nomine purgatus admittitur.'

2. **retractet**] 'One may well inquire what ought to be maintained about...' The verb means (1) 'to discuss, consider, treat of' like 'tractare' (*a*) with accus. (*Apol.* 3, *ad Natt.* ii 1, *adu. Marc.* iii 4, *adu. Marc.* iv 7, *adu. Marc.* v 4, *adu. Hermog.* 37, *Apol.* 4, *adu. Valent.* 5, *ad Uxor.* ii 2); (*b*) with *de* (*ad Natt.* ii 8, *de Carn. Chr.* 1, *adu. Marc.* v 19, *adu. Hermog.* 4, *de Patient.* 4, *de Pudic.* 7. 18). (2) 'to object' (absol.) *Scorp.* 7, *de Carn. Chr.* 2, *Apol.* 39, or, with *de*, 'to carp at, cavil at' *adu. Marc.* v 5. For *retractatus* see on xii 6, above.

ib. **ad nos enim**] i.e. to Catholics and not to heretics.

5. **non idem deus**] In mitigation of the harshness of this sentence it must be remembered that the 'heretics' of Tertullian's time were for the most part Gnostics, of whom the statement was literally true.

7. **quem cum rite**] If they had not Baptism properly, they had it not at all.

8. **nec capit**] οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, a Graecism not uncommon in Tertullian; cf. *Apol.* 17, *de Fug. Persecut.* 1, *de Hab. Mul.* 2, *de Pudic.* 1, and many other places (Sittl *op. cit.*, Rönsch *N. T. Tert.* p. 613, *It. u. Vulg.* p. 351). Tertullian's statements (1) that 'heretical baptism cannot be counted, since it is not there,' and (2) 'similarly they cannot receive it either (*ita...nec*), because they have it not (to give)' may be illustrated from Cyprian: 'If [heretics and schismatics] have [the Spirit], why are those who have been baptized among them to submit, on coming over to us, to the Imposition of the Hand for the receiving of the Spirit, when they must have received Him already; for where He was, there He could be given? If, on the other hand, those without, heretics and schismatics alike, are unable to give the Holy Spirit, and on that account the Imposition of the Hand is used among us, that here they may receive what neither exists nor can be given there, it is manifest that neither can remission of sins be given by means of those who are acknowledged not to have the Holy Ghost' (*Epist.* lxix 11 quoted in Mason *op. cit.* p. 69).

10. **in Graeco**] 'in Greek,' Dodgson. Perhaps this would rather have been *Graece*; better 'in my Greek (treatise),' sc. *digesto*, or some such

semel delicta diluuntur, quia ea iterari non oportet. ceterum Israel Iudaeus quotidie lauat, quia quotidie inquinatur. quod ne in nobis quoque factitaretur, propterea de uno lauacro definitum est. felix aqua, quae semel abluit, quae ludibrio peccatoribus non est, quae non adsiduitate sordium infecta rursus quos diluit inquinat.

2 Iudaeus *delendum censet Harnack.*

word. Cf. *de Cor.* 6 'Sed et huic materiae...Graeco quoque stilo satisfecimus' (there is a v. l. 'praecoquo'), where also the earlier form of the treatise seems to have been in Greek.

ib. **digestum est**] See on i 3 above, 'digestum istud.'

ib. **semel ergo**] It is plain from this how entirely invalid Tertullian held heretical Baptism to be, or he could not possibly have incurred the danger of blasphemy by insisting that those who had received heretical Baptism should be rebaptized. The Roman Church has carefully avoided this danger ever since the Council of Arles, and her present rule is as follows: 'Heretics coming to the Catholic Church, in whose Baptism the due "form" or "matter" has not been retained, are to be duly baptized: but where the due "form" and "matter" have been retained, let only those things be supplied which were omitted, unless for a reasonable cause it seem otherwise to the Bishop' (Rubric on Baptism of Adults in Roman Ritual). The Greek view is more complicated; it accepts schismatical, but rejects heretical, Baptism.

2. **Israel Iudaeus**] i.e. the Jewish Israel as opposed to the true (Christian) Israel. There seems no sufficient reason to omit *Iudaeus*, as Harnack proposes.

ib. **quotidie lauat**] A reference to the sect of Hemerobaptists. Cf. 'Ceterum satis mundae sunt manus quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lauimus. omnibus licet membris lauet quotidie Israel, numquam tamen mundus est,' *de Orat.* 13.

4. **felix aqua**] The recurrence of these words (cf. i 1, above) gives the effect of a sort of refrain, marking the close of a section. Ch. xvi is parenthetical, and the remainder of the Treatise is devoted to practical, rather than theoretical, matters.

ib. **ludibrio**] If Baptism needed to be repeated, it would be a 'mockery' to those who trusted in it. It is natural to expect the influence of his 'master' upon Cyprian to have been evident in his treatment of Baptism, as in other ways, and many expressions in these chapters can be illustrated from Cyprian, though he nowhere refers to the *de Baptismo* by name. He quotes e.g. the text Joh. iii 5 in the same connexion (*Epist.* lxxii 1); states that 'water alone cannot wash away sins, but only when accompanied by the Holy Spirit' (*Epist.* lxxiii 12); mentions the same rites of Imposition of Hands and Unction with the Consecrated Oil, and endorses Tertullian's view of the invalid nature of heretical Baptism (*Epist.* lxx 2, lxix 11). The stern view of post-baptismal sin which appears in this passage—a view which prevailed at the time, and was consonant with Tertullian's own cast of thought—gave rise to the habit of postponing Baptism till late in life, which Tertullian recommends in ch. xviii. There is no reference to the *secunda tabula* (Penance), and in the *de Paenit.* 6 he contemplates repentance only as a preparation for Baptism yet to come.

XVI. Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lauacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet, de quo dominus, habeo, inquit, baptismo tingui, cum iam tinctus fuisset. uenerat enim per aquam et sanguinem, sicut Iohannes scripsit, ut aqua tingueretur, sanguine glorificaretur, perinde nos faceret aqua uocatos, sanguine electos. hos duos baptismos de uulnere perfossi lateris emisit, quatenus qui in sanguinem eius crederent, aqua

5 proinde nos facere ABO, proinde ut nos faceret aLU, proinde, nos faceret b, perinde nos faceret R. 7 omisit L. *ib. pro* quatenus *habent* quia ABLS.

XVI. *The 'Baptism of Blood' (sc. Martyrdom) is also one, and was also undergone by our Lord. In the case of those who have not been baptized by water, it takes its place; and to those who have lost it, this restores it.*

Tertullian alludes to this 'Baptism of Blood' elsewhere: e.g. 'Prospexerat deus etiam post lauacrum periclitaturam fidem. posuit igitur dimicationem martyrii et lauacrum sanguinis exinde secuturum' (v.l. 'securum') *Scorp.* 6, and 'Omnia enim huic operi (sc. compensationi sanguinis) donantur,' *Apol.* 50, where see Oehler's note *x*. Again 'Martyrium aliud erit baptisma,' *de Pudic.* 22; cf. *de Res. Carn.* 43 and *de Anim.* 58. The anonymous author of the treatise *de Rebaptismate* says that the Baptism of water is not a necessity for catechumens who are put to a martyr's death before they have an opportunity of receiving it. The double outflow from the side of Christ is, he says, a figure of the Baptism of water and that of blood, which are not to be regarded as two distinct things, but as divers forms of one and the same Baptism. Hilary, quoting Lk. xii 50 as Tertullian does here, talks of a further cleansing that will wash us 'by the self-devoted suffering and faithful blood of martyrdom' *Tract. in Ps. cxviii, litt.* 3 § 5. Much later Gennadius draws a parallel between the Baptism of blood and that of water, in which he uses the expression, '[The ordinary candidate for Baptism], after his confession, is either sprinkled with water, or plunged in it; the martyr is either sprinkled with blood, or bathed in fire,' *de Eccl. Dogm.* § 74. A great number of references to other passages in the Fathers will be found in note *b* on p. 106 of Dodgson's translation. See also a valuable discussion in d'Alès, *op. cit.* p. 330, note 2.

2. **habeo**] Lk. xii 50.

3. **per aquam et sanguinem**] 1 Joh. v 6; cf. Joh. xix 34. The 'water' was Christ's Baptism, and the 'blood' His death on the Cross; but the Fathers saw in them a type of the Christian Sacraments, as is shown e.g. by Westcott in his additional note to John xix, pp. 284, 286.

5. **perinde nos faceret**] This reading greatly improves the balance and point of the sentence.

ib. **uocatos ... electos**] a reference, perhaps, to Rom. viii 30: the Baptism of blood sets the final seal of glory on those already 'called' in the Baptism of water, as Christ's death upon the Cross completed the work of consecration begun in His Baptism.

6. **perfossi**] Perhaps a reminiscence of Ps. xxi (xxii) 17. In Joh. xix 34 the word used in the Vulgate is 'aperuit.'

7. **quatenus**] was used both as

lauarentur, qui aqua lauissent, etiam sanguinem portarent. hic est baptismus qui lauacrum et non acceptum repraesentat et perditum reddit.

1 portarent A, potarent BabO. 'sanguine postularent *fort.*' R.

a temporal conjunction in the sense of 'cum,' and as a causal in the sense of 'quia' (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 2 § 37 pp. 131, 132). Here it seems to have the force of *ut*.

1. **sanguinem portarent**] There is something to be said for *potarent*, the reading of Gelenius, Pamelius, Rigalt, and Oehler. Reifferscheid's conjecture *sanguine postularent* 'might demand it also by their blood' is ingenious, but unnecessary. *Porto* is used in an odd way with *fidem* p. 2. 2. It might refer here to the way in which those upon whom was sprinkled the blood of sacrifices 'bore' it upon their persons.

ib. **lauissent**] See p. 34. 11.

2. **repraesentat**] 'takes the place of.'

XVII. *This ch. discusses the question 'Who have the right to baptize?' Tertullian assigns it to* (1) *Bishops;* (2) *Priests and Deacons, with the permission of the Bishop;* (3) *laymen, in case of necessity. He refuses it to women, under any circumstances, and rejects the authority of 'The Acts of Paul and Thecla,' to which the advocates of the right of women to baptize had referred.*

In studying this ch. it must be remembered that Baptism in Tertullian's day, and for several centuries after, was administered as one rite, and the various parts (Immersion, Unction, Laying on of Hands), of which it was composed, were not as yet separated. We have, therefore, as it were the germ of that which was afterwards more fully developed. Perhaps a brief historical survey will make this clear.

In Africa the testimony is consistent throughout that a Bishop was regarded as the normal minister of Baptism, and those who had been baptized by one of lower degree were required to have their Baptism supplemented by a Bishop. In Spain from the Council of Elvira in 305—306 to St Hildefonsus of Toledo, three centuries and a half later, the same testimony exists: the former requires 'perfecting' by a Bishop after Baptism by a deacon or layman; the latter speaks of the 'sacerdos' as the due minister of the Sacrament. So in Gaul (Hilary of Poitiers), Britain (Bede and Alcuin), Germany (Rabanus, Haymo), the evidence shows plainly that either the whole rite was administered by a Bishop, or that Immersion and Unction on the Breast might be performed by one of lower order, but that Unction on the Forehead and Imposition of Hands were reserved for the Bishop, and sometimes administered at a later time.

In the East, the practice is for the presbyter to baptize, and to 'seal' with Chrism consecrated by a Bishop.

The Roman use, as found in Zeno of Verona, Ambrose of Milan, Rufinus of Aquileia, Gaudentius of Brescia, may be summed up in these words of Jerome: 'Neither the presbyter nor the deacon have the right to baptize, without the Chrism and the command of the Bishop. Persons otherwise baptized are not reckoned to have the Holy Ghost without being brought to the Bishop to receive Imposition of Hands' (*adu. Lucif.* vol. iv, p. 295). Innocent I (after 402) lays down that the Chrism must be first consecrated by a Bishop, and regards the rite as finished by Unction and the Laying on of Hands. Similarly Leo the

XVII. Superest ad concludendam materiolam de obseruatione quoque dandi et accipiendi baptismi commonefacere. dandi quidem habet ius summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctori-

2 baptismi A, baptismum Bab.

Great, half a century later. By the vth, vith and early part of the viith century, as dioceses became larger and populations more numerous, a difficulty arose: 'confirmation' or 'sealing' was practised by presbyters in country districts, and various Decrees were passed by Councils at the time to forbid the growing custom. Gregory the Great, in two letters to Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari, tried to restrict presbyters to the use of Chrism previously consecrated by a Bishop, and spoke of Sicilian Bishops travelling about their dioceses to complete the baptismal rite. The final separation of 'Confirmation' from Baptism followed soon after (*Rit. Rom.* p. vii and *Catech. Rom. de Bapt.* c. v, Hooker *E. P.* v 66, Blunt *Annotated P. B.* p. 404, *Kirchenordnung Churf. Friedr.* Heidelb. 1563 p. 3, Höfling i § 9 p. 14). A somewhat different view of the history of the rites is given by Bp Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace* pp. 59, 80 sq.

1. **superest**] *Scorp.* 9 begins similarly.

ib. **materiolam**] Tertullian, like many another fiery spirit, had his moments of genuine humility; cf. 'ut potero respondebo,' p. 34. 7, 'quantum mediocritati nostrae licuit,' x 7, 'cuius hoc opusculum est,' *de Virg. Veland.* and *de Exhort. Cast.* ad fin.—if the reading is sound, and the touching request to be mindful in prayer 'etiam Tertulliani peccatoris,' with which this Treatise concludes. The word used here seems to be ἅπ. εἰρ.

ib. **obseruatione dandi**] 'that which is to be observed with regard to giving'—a curious expression.

3. **sacerdos**] Tertullian uses this (1) of the heathen (*Scorp.* 7, *ad Uxor.* i 6), (2) of the Jews (*adu. Marc.* iv 9), (3) generally (*ad Natt.* iii 70, *de Ieiun.* 16), (4) of Christ (*adu. Iud.* 14 [v. l. 'uerus summus'], (5) of Christians (*de Spect.* 16). Except as a v. l. in *adu. Iud.* 15 the expression *summus s.* does not recur in his writings. It represents ἀρχιερεύς in the Vulgate. The use of the expression *summus sacerdos* by Tertullian (it is not known to have been used earlier) had important results. Cyprian took it over from his 'master,' and built on it—and on the use of *ara*—his doctrine of the ministry, separating the Episcopate from the Presbyterate, and the clergy from the laity. 'The Bishop as the central authority in a sacrificial worship offered by the whole priestly race, became inevitably the ἀρχιερεύς or *sacerdos*, terms which came into use about the first quarter of the third century and were accepted generally from the middle of the same period' (Bp Wordsworth *Ministry of Grace* pp. 124, 133).

Other expressions were *summus pontifex*, *pontifex maximus* (a 'sneer'—according to Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* II iii p. 130, note 3, E. T. I doubt this, but the tone of the passage, and the use of *scilicet*, lend colour to the imputation), and *pontifex maximus episcopus episcoporum* (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 § 12 pp. 24, 25 and § 24 p. 66).

4. **non tamen**] See introductory note to this ch., Dodgson transl. n. *c*, p. 276, and cf. Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* viii οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

tate, propter ecclesiae honorem, quo saluo salua pax est. alioquin etiam laicis ius est. quod enim ex aequo accipitur, ex aequo dari potest. nisi episcopi iam aut presbyteri aut diaconi uocantur discentes. domini sermo non debet abscondi ab ullo. perinde et baptismus, aeque dei census, ab omnibus exerceri potest. sed quanto magis laicis disciplina uerecundiae et modestiae incumbit, cum ea maioribus competant, ne sibi adsumant dicatum episcopis officium? episcopatus aemulatio

4 uocantur dicentes ABa, uocantur discentes b, uocarentur discentes L. 5 perinde R, proinde *cett.* 7 competat ABa, competant b. 8 episcopi ABaO, episcopis USb. *ib.* officium episcopatus. Aemulatio ABab, officium! Episc. O, officium? Episc. I.

1. **quo saluo**] Cf. Ignat. as above, τοὺς [δὲ] μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν.

2. **alioquin**] See on p. 39. 10.

ib. **etiam laicis**] So Jerome (*adu. Lucif.* § 9), adding 'ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest.' Cf. 'etiam laicos solere dare sacramentum quod acceperunt, solemus audire,' *Ep. ad Fortunat.* c. 21. Augustine (*Ep. ad Parmen.* ii 13) was more guarded: 'It is either no fault, or venial.'

3. **nisi...discentes**] 'unless the term "disciples" is to be confined to bishops, priests, or deacons'; Christian knowledge and Christian baptism are both equally the possession of clergy and laity; therefore they may equally impart them both. It is, however, supposed by some that the word 'discentes' means 'deacons licensed to teach,' i.e. deacons with more than the usual ecclesiastical powers of deacons—for which see Cheetham, Article 'Deacons,' in *D.C.A.* pp. 530, 531, Bethune-Baker *Early Hist. of Chr. Doctrine* p. 389.

5. **dei census**] 'which is equally derived from God,' a characteristic meaning of *census* and *censeo* in Tertullian (see p. 16. 2 above, Rönsch *N. T. Tert.* p. 625).

6. **disciplina uerecundiae**] See pp. 36. 3 and 42. 3, above.

7. **competant**] See on xii 3, above. Kroymann (*Quaest. Tertull.* p. 76) maintains that in the reading in the text (1) the apodosis *ne sibi assumant* does not correspond to the protasis *quanto magis*; (2) *ea* is unintelligible, because it cannot refer either to *baptismus* or *disciplina*. He proposes: 'Quanto...incumbit! cum maioribus competat, ne sibi assumant dic. ep. off.' The subject of his *competat* is, of course, *officium*.

8. **episcopatus aemulatio**] 'Rivalry against a bishop.' The importance of the episcopate in preserving unity in the faith is brought out by Bp Wordsworth in his *Ministry of Grace*[2] p. 122. He refers to Hilary the Deacon *in Titum* i 5 for the duty of bishops 'to root out the thickets of heresies.' In *de Praescr. Haeret.* 42 Tertullian says sarcastically of heretics 'schisma est unitas ipsis,' but in his Montanist writings he speaks bitterly of the episcopal office as a tyranny; cf. *de Fug. in Persec.* 13, *de Exhort. Cast.* 7, *de Monog.* 7 and 12. Hooker (*E. P.* VII xiii 3) held that schism was permitted by Divine Providence to prove the necessity of Bishops, and readers of the Epistles of Clement and of Ignatius will recognise the thought.

schismatum mater est. omnia licere dixit sanctissimus apostolus, sed non omnia expedire. sufficiat scilicet in necessitatibus ut utaris, sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personae condicio compellit. tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, cum urget circumstantia periclitantis, quoniam reus erit perditi hominis, si supersederit praestare quod libere potuit. petulantia autem mulieris, quae usurpauit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi ius sibi pariet, nisi si quae noua bestia euenerit similis pristinae, ut, quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. quodsi quae Pauli perperam inscripta sunt exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui

3 ut utaris ABa, *om.* ut b. 7 Petulantia autem mulier A, mulierum Ba, mulieris UbR, Petulantiae autem mulier O. 8 uenerit I. 10 Quod si quae Pauli perperam scripta sunt, scriptum Th. ad licentiam A, exemplum Th. A*mg*, Quodsi quae Pauli p. scripta legunt, exemplum Th. ad l. Ba, Quod si quae Paulo p. adscripta sunt, ad l. b, Quod si quae Paulo p. adscripta sunt, scriptum Teclae ad l. U, inscripta R. 12 tingendi quae A, tingendique B.

1. **omnia licere**] 1 Cor. vi 12, x 23.

3. **utaris**] sc. 'the permission to baptize.'

4. **constantia...excipitur**] 'boldness is permissible in one who helps.' The exact force of the verb is 'is allowed as an exception.'

5. **circumstantia**] used here in its modern sense. Elsewhere in Tertullian it means 'a hindrance, or obstacle,' e.g. *de Idol.* 9, *de Orat.* 10.

7. **petulantia ... quae**] Gompertz (*Tertullianea* p. 43) prefers *qua*, and takes *petulantia* as ablative of the instrument, reading *mulier*. The sense of the passage would remain practically unaltered.

ib. **docere**] 1 Cor. xiv 34, 1 Tim. ii 12, 1 Pet. iii 5.

ib. **utique**] See on p. 5, l. 5, above.

8. **noua bestia**] See on p. 2. 3, above.

9. **pristinae**] The woman mentioned in ch. i.

10. **Pauli perperam inscripta**] An ingenious emendation of Reifferscheid for the old *Pauli scripta*. See Dr Gwynne's article '*Thecla*' in Smith *D.C.B.* iv p. 885. Jerome refers to Thecla *de Vir. Inl.* vii, in a way which led Zahn and others to infer that he was quoting from the Greek form of the *de Bapt.* Harnack (*G. d. altchr. Lit.* ii 2 § 9 pp. 493—505) has shown in a very interesting passage that they are wrong. If the date of this apocryphal writing is about 160—170, it could not long have been in circulation when Tertullian wrote, and one cannot but recognise the critical acumen which led him so decisively to pronounce it a forgery. See further in Bardenhewer *Gesch. d. altchr. Litteratur* i p. 424 sq.; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 375 sq.: Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 49 foll. Perhaps 'Acta' has dropped out after 'inscripta.'

12. **defendunt**] 'claim the example of.' See on p. 40. 5, above.

eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, conuictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. quam enim fidei proximum uideretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminae potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? taceant, inquit, et domi maritos suos consulant.

XVIII. Ceterum baptismum non temere credendum esse

1 'titulum *fort.*' R, titulos *Hartel.* 2 conuictum + apud Ioannem I. 4 docere A, discere Bab, doceri *Hartel.*

1. **quasi...cumulans**] 'heaping up, as it were, from his own store unto the name of Paul' (Dodgson). Hartel (*op. cit.* p. 13) would read *titulos* and translate: 'The Presbyter meant by this forgery to add from his own store to the number of Paul's writings.' He supports this sense of *titulus* by reference to *de Pudic.* 20, *de Anim.* 3 and 20, *de Res. Carn.* 2. I think Hartel is probably right here, and in the first passage referred to. In *de Anim.* 3 I am more doubtful, and in the last two *titulus* means, I think, rather 'heading.' Ramsay (*Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* p. 414) translates it 'additions made by the presbyter from his own store to a document, the result being that he augmented it with the love of Paul,' a version which draws from Harnack the sarcastic comment, 'The joy of Ramsay the Antiquarian has blinded the eyes of Ramsay the Critic.' Perhaps a simpler way is to translate 'titulo' as 'the honour' or 'distinction.'

2. **conuictum atque confessum**] sc. before John. So Jerome, as referred to above. Dr M. R. James, however, tells me that he is convinced that *apud Iohannem* in Jerome is impossible for chronological reasons, and that *apud Iconium* is probably the right reading.

ib. **loco decessisse**] i.e. 'was degraded from the presbyterate.'

3. **fidei proximum**] Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 338 'Ficta uoluptatis causa sunt proxima ueris.' But here there seems to be no superlative force.

4. **discere**] is surely wrong, as Hartel (who suggests *docendi* for *discendi* in *adu. Marc.* v 8) insists. St Paul forbade women to *teach*, but expressly advised them to learn of their own husbands at home: and p. 48. 7 above seems decisive. *Teaching* and *baptizing* are the two things which Tertullian will not allow to women. In support of 'discere,' however, it may be urged that nothing else would make such a natural antithesis to 'docendi et tinguendi' above, and that Tertullian means that St Paul would not allow women to learn in a wrong way.

5. **constanter**] 'boldly.' So *constantia* p. 48. 4 above. I take it with the infinitive.

ib. **taceant**] 1 Cor. xiv 34, 35.

XVIII. *Baptism is not to be lightly conferred, notwithstanding the case of Philip and the Eunuch, and that of St Paul. Due consideration is to be had of age and other circumstances, especially in the case of Infants. Virgins and Widows also not to be precipitate.*

A catena of authorities on the subject of this ch. may be found in Höfling *op. cit.* p. 95 sq. This passage, and Iren. ii 22. 4, are the earliest certain evidence for Infant Baptism (Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* i p. 356). It is plain that Tertullian is urging his own private scruples against what was then a prevalent practice,

sciunt quorum officium est. 'omni petenti te dato' suum habet titulum perinde ad eleemosynam pertinentem. immo illud potius perspiciendum: nolite dare sanctum canibus et porcis proicere margaritam uestram, et, manus ne facile imposueris, ne participes aliena delicta. si Philippus tam facile tinxit eunuchum, recogitemus manifestam et exertam dignationem domini intercessisse. spiritus Philippo praeceperat in eam uiam pertendere; spado et ipse inuentus est non otiosus, nec

2 perinde ABa, proinde Ub. 4 margaritam uestram AB, margaritas uestras a, margarita uestra Ub. 8 praetendere ABa, pertendere Ub.

and that this ch. cannot be quoted as early testimony against the use. It is difficult to reconcile the views here expressed with what we read elsewhere in Tert.'s writings. Thus in *de Anim.* 39 and 40 he expressly affirms the 'Adamic,' unclean, sinful condition of every soul that is not yet 'enrolled in Christ.' He leaves us in no doubt (*de Testim. Anim.* 3, *adu. Marc.* i 22, *de Anim.* 11) that he believed all mankind to have inherited sin, or a sinful nature —though his language is no doubt less precise than it would have been after the Pelagian controversy arose (Bp Kaye *op. cit.* p. 308 sq.).

We may, perhaps, let the contradiction stand. 'It is the property of warm men,' says one who knew (Wall *Hist. of Infant Baptism*), 'when they are speaking earnestly on one subject, and urging that, to overlash so as that when they are speaking on another with like earnestness, they fall into contradiction of what they said before.' And Tertullian had not a judicial, comprehensive mind. He saw one aspect of a thing at a time, and saw it exclusively. Perhaps, too, as Tertullian became more Montanist, he lost some of his belief in the sinlessness of the 'innocens aetas' (Neander *Ch. Hist.* ii 347 Bohn). See further on p. 52. 6, below.

For paedobaptism as a practice of a slightly later date see, inter alios, Cyprian *Ep.* lix, Origen *Hom.* viii *in Levit.*; *Hom.* xiv *in Luc. Evang.*; *Epist. ad Roman.* v 6.

1. **omni petenti**] Mt. v 42, Lk. vi 30.

2. **titulum**] Either in the sense of 'head' or 'justification': it is hard to determine which. See on p. 49. 1, above.

ib. **perinde**] 'in truth.' Often confused in Tertullian as elsewhere with *proinde*; cf. p. 47, 5, above. The nearest parallels I know are Suet. *Tib.* lii 'Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est,' id. *Galb.* xiii 'Quare aduentus eius non perinde gratus est.'

ib. **eleemosynam**] One of the Greek words which still held its own in the Christian vocabulary, Koffmane i 1 § 13 p. 30. So 'teloneum,' 'schisma,' 'agape,' 'diabolus,' 'ecclesia,' 'episcopus,' &c.

3. **nolite dare**] Mt. vii 6.

4. **manus ne facile**] 1 Tim. v 22. Tertullian appears to think that St Paul refers to the Laying on of Hands which formed a part of Baptism.

5. **Philippus**] Acts viii 17.

6. **exertam**] See on p. 35. 1, above, where the verb is again used with a verbal noun in *-io*.

ib. **dignationem**] 'sanction,' as in p. 51. 9 below. In its ordinary sense it occurs *adu. Iud.* 1.

qui subito tingui concupisceret, sed ad templum orandi gratia profectus, scripturae diuinae impressus. sic oportebat deprendi, cui ultro deus apostolum miserat, quem rursus spiritus ut se curriculo eunuchi adiungeret iussit. scriptura ipsius fidei occurrit in tempore, exhortatus adsumitur, dominus ostenditur, fides non moratur, aqua non expectatur, apostolus perfecto negotio eripitur. sed et Paulus reuera cito tinctus est. cito enim cognouerat Simon hospes uas eum esse electionis constitutum. dei dignatio suas praemittit praerogatiuas. omnis petitio et decipere et decipi potest. itaque pro cuiusque personae condicione ac dispositione, etiam aetate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, praecipue tamen circa paruulos. quid enim necesse, si non tam necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo

2 deprendi ABa, deprehendi b. 7 unctus AB, tinctus ab. 8 Simon ABb, Iudas a, Ananias I. 11 a A, ac B. 13 necesse, si non tam necesse est, sponsores A, necesse est, sponsores Bb, necesse est, si non tam necesse est, sponsores aU.

3. **apostolum**] Tertullian seems to have forgotten what Philip this was.

4. **curriculo**] Acts viii 29.

7. **cito**] Cf. *οὐχ ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται*, *Apost. Constit.* viii 32.

8. **Simon hospes**] A curious mistake for Ananias. It was not Simon, but Judas, who was St Paul's 'hospes' (Acts ix 11). It seems to be a mere slip, due to a quotation made from memory. There is no known variant, Gk or Lat., which could have suggested it, nor in the *capitula* either, where O.L. traditions sometimes survive (I owe this information to the kindness of Rev. H. J. C. Knight). The name of Simon comes from Acts ix 43.

9. **dignatio**] See on p. 50. 6, above.

ib. **praemittit**] 'God's good pleasure ushereth itself in by its own special claims' (Dodgson). Cf. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xviii *οἶδε γὰρ πόρρωθεν καταβάλλεσθαι τῶν μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἡ σοφία τὰς ὑποθέσεις*, quoted by Oehler.

10. **petitio**] takes the reader back to 'petenti' at the beginning of the chapter.

12. **circa**] Besides local and temporal meanings, Tertullian uses this word in the sense of 'concerning': he does not use the form *circum*, except in composition.

13. **sponsores**] There does not seem to be any reference to them before this. They were known by various names for a time, for which see Höfling *op. cit.* ii § 106 p. 4. They were 'guarantees' that the candidates would be properly taught—in the case of adults, that they had been properly taught—and that they would fulfil their vows. In the absence of direct early evidence it is impossible to say how the institution arose. Höfling's suggestions are interesting, but rest on *a priori* reasoning. The subsequent history may be read in works of reference. For Tertullian see also the passage *de Cor.* 3, referred to in the Introduction, p. xviii.

ingeri, qui et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt et prouentu malae indolis falli? ait quidem dominus: nolite illos prohibere ad me uenire. ueniant ergo, dum adulescunt; ueniant, dum discunt, dum quo ueniant docentur; fiant Christiani, cum Christum nosse potuerint. quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum? cautius agetur in saecularibus, ut, cui substantia terrena non creditur, diuina credatur? norint petere salutem, ut

1 integri, quid A, ingeri, qui Ba, ingeri? quia Ub. 2 prouentum A, prouentu B. 6 quod A, quid B. 7 *pro* ut 'nec *fort.*' R. 8 credatur? *Hartel.*, credatur. *cett.*

1. **ingeri**] 'why should sponsors also be exposed to danger, if it (sc. Infant Baptism) is not so very necessary?' Tertullian uses *ingero* rather oddly, but I have not been able to find a parallel to this expression. Its commonest meaning with him is 'to utter,' esp. a warning; e.g. *adu. Marc.* iv 31 'Et adhuc ingerit, "Et emisi ad uos omnes...",' *ib.* 27; *de Carn. Chr.* 5 (synonymous with *statuit* and *inculcauit*), *de Res. Carn.* 47, *de Pudic.* 22, where the reading is doubtful. Once it seems to mean 'teach' or 'proclaim,' *de Monog. init.* 'Haeretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt.'

2. **prouentu**] here seems to mean 'growing up,' a meaning to which I have not found a parallel. Dirksen *Manuale* s.v. gives 'quidquid nascitur e re' as one of its senses. In classical Latin it means 'harvest' or 'result'—esp. a happy result.

3. **nolite**] Mt. xix 14, Mk x 14.

5. **cum...potuerint**] Cf. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl p. 658 *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην τὴν τριετίαν ἀναμείναντας, ἢ μικρὸν ἐντὸς τούτου ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, ἡνίκα καὶ ἀκοῦσαί τι μυστικὸν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι δυνατόν,... οὕτως ἁγιάζειν.*

6. **innocens**] For the discrepancy between this and Tertullian's language elsewhere see the introductory remarks to this ch. Dodgson's note here is worth consulting. He compares *adu. Marc.* iv 23, where the words 'innocens aetas' occur again. Tertullian is there comparing innocent babes, who knew not right from wrong, with the 'pueri' who mocked at Elisha's baldness, when they were old enough to know better. It is possible to reconcile Tertullian's statements by supposing that he would define the 'uncleanness' from which infants are washed in Baptism as not sinfulness to which guilt attaches. Cf. Harnack *Hist. of Doctr.* ii 274, Loofs *Leitfaden f. seine Vorlesungen üb. Dogmengesch.*, and Turmel in *Rev. d'Hist. et de Lit. relig.* vi p. 19. Origen recognised the necessity of Infant Baptism, and held that it washed away 'sordes peccati,' but whether the expression refers to his theory of prenatal corruption, or to bodily defilement contracted in the process of birth, or to a sinful taint transmitted from Adam, it is hard now to determine.

7. **cautius**] There is a similar passage *ad Uxor.* i 1 'Si talibus tabulas ordinamus....' Hartel, *op. cit.* p. 13, is responsible for the note of interrogation. He translates 'Shall greater care be exercised in worldly matters (sc. than in heavenly), so that a heavenly boon should be entrusted to one, to whom one would not entrust an earthly boon?'

petenti dedisse uidearis. non minore de causa innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus temptatio praeparata est tam uirginibus per maturitatem quam uiduis per uacationem, donec aut nubant aut continentiae corroborentur. si qui pondus intellegant baptismi, magis timebunt consecutionem quam dilationem; fides integra secura est de salute.

XIX. Diem baptismo sollemniorem Pascha praestat, cum et passio domini in qua tinguimur adimpleta est. nec incon-

1 petendi A, petenti Bab. 3 uagationem ABa, uacationem Ub. 4 'aetate corroborentur *fort.*' R. 8 quam Ub. incongruenter aut A, i. ad Ba, i. quis ad Ub.

1. **petenti**] Mt. vii 7, Eph. iv 28.

3. **uacationem**] This reading is due to a conjecture of Ursinius, who presumably meant it for 'widowhood.' Tert. certainly uses 'uacans' in the sense of 'unmarried,' and Facciolati gives several examples from elsewhere. If, however, as seems probable, Tertullian had in his mind 1 Tim. v 13 ἀργαί...περιερχόμεναι, for which Vulg. has 'otiosae discunt circuire domos,' perhaps either 'uagationem' should be restored, or 'uacationem' should be translated 'idleness.'

4. **continentiae corroborentur**] Reifferscheid is doubtless right in seeing that an ablative is required, but *aetate*, though it makes excellent sense, is wide of the Latin. Might not *continentia* be right?

5. **pondus**] It is perhaps fanciful to see in this, as Bonwetsch (*Gesch. d. Montanismus* p. 178) does, the 'pack' or 'knapsack' which a Christian 'soldier' had to carry. The soldier's life furnished many metaphors as 'disciplina,' 'statio,' 'tiro,' 'rebellis,' 'discingere' (not *sacramentum*: Koffm. *op. cit.* i 1 p. 60 § 22), but this is too little technical to be included in the list.

ib. **consecutionem**] Cf. 'non pertinentia ad condicionis comparationem, sicut nec ad resurrectionis consecutionem,' *de Res. Carn.* 52.

6. **fides integra**] Cf. 'Prima audientis intinctio metus integer,' *de Paenit.* 6. This is meant to reassure those who feared that, if they followed Tertullian's counsel to defer Baptism, death might overtake them. It plainly conflicts with what he says elsewhere, e.g. his argument in ch. xiii. Hence the words have been explained of a life after Baptism free from sin. The context, however, is against this, to my thinking. See d'Alès, *op. cit.* p. 331, note 1.

XIX. *Easter and Pentecost are the appropriate seasons for administering Baptism, but all times and seasons are alike lawful.*

The Bp of Salisbury, *Ministry of Grace* p. 355, states that *Pascha* here, and *adu. Iud.* 10 *ad fin.*, means Good Friday, extended by ὑπέρθεσις (or, 'superposition') over Easter Eve. This was its regular meaning in the first three centuries, and often in the fourth. The use of *Pascha* for Easter Day (πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον as contrasted with π. σταυρώσιμον) is of later introduction. Cf. Feltoe, *Dionysius of Alex.* p. 94.

7. **sollemniorem**] 'the more usual, regular, proper' season. So 'exinde' l. 4 below means 'next in order' (of 'sollemnitas').

8. **in qua t.**] Cf. Rom. vi 3 'quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.'

ib. **adimpleta**] See on p. 32. 16.

gruenter ad figuram interpretabitur, quod cum ultimum Pascha dominus esset acturus, missis discipulis ad praeparandum, conuenietis, inquit, hominem aquam baiulantem. Paschae celebrandae locum de signo aquae ostendit. exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lauacris laetissimum spatium est, quo et domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est, et gratia spiritus sancti dedicata, et spes aduentus domini subostensa, quod tunc in caelos recuperato eo angeli ad apostolos dixerunt sic uenturum, quemadmodum et in caelos conscendit, utique

3 conuenietis AB, inuenietis ab. 5 laetissimum A, latissimum A*mg*Bab. quod A, quo B.

3. **Paschae**] Note the fem. genitive: the 'ultimum' in l. 1 shows that the nominative was neuter. The form 'Paschatis' was also used, but I have not found it in Tertullian.

4. **de signo**] For the instrumental use of *de* see Introd. p. xxx.

ib. **Pentecoste**] Koffmane has investigated the flexion of this word, i 1 § 9 p. 18.

5. **ordinandis lauacris**] The meaning of the verb varies with that which we attach to the noun: 'for the solemn administration of Baptisms,' or 'for the consecration of fonts.' The former is probably right, because (1) Tertullian uses *sanctificare* for the consecration of the water by the Holy Spirit (see ch. iv above); (2) *benedicere* was the prevailing word (Höfling *op. cit.* § 88 p. 481); (3) Baptisms at this time were usually performed in running water, or natural sources, not artificial 'fonts' (Rogers in *Stud. Biblica* vii, already referred to).

ib. **laetissimum**] It is difficult to decide between this and *latissimum*. If 'Pentecoste' included, as some authorities hold, from Good Friday to Whitsunday, 'very ample' makes good sense: on the other hand 'very propitious' goes well with what follows. In favour of 'laetissimum' it may be observed that the length of time was less in Tertullian's mind than the associations of the two canonical seasons.

6. **frequentata**] 'was frequently manifested' (Dodgson). The word is commonly used in Tertullian with *memoria* 'to keep alive' the memory of (*de Testim. Anim.* 4, *ad Uxor.* i 8 if the reading is sound). One curious passage is 'in usum maledicti frequentat,' 'He constantly uses them (sc. daemons) for cursing,' *Apol.* 22.

7. **dedicata**] Tertullian frequently uses this verb in the sense of 'institute' or 'begin,' e.g. 'omnes simul ibidem dedicans sensus,' *de Anim.* 19, of an infant. Oehler has collected many instances in his note *l* on *Scorp.* 1.

ib. **subostensa**] 'suggested.' See p. 35. 5.

9. **sic**] Acts i 11.

ib. **utique in Pentecoste**] This must mean 'during the season of Pentecost,' and not 'on Whitsunday' itself, on which day Christ did not ascend, nor hold intercourse with His disciples. Bp Wordsworth, *op. cit.* p. 356 (reading 'latissimum spatium'), adopts the view referred to in the note on 'laetissimum' above, and mentions an expression of Origen, *contr. Cels.* viii 22, that one who can truly say 'we are risen with Christ' walks continually in the days of Pentecost. See also p. 365 of the same work.

in Pentecoste. sed enim Hieremias cum dicit: et congregabo illos ab extremis terrae in die festo, Paschae diem significat et Pentecostes, qui est proprie dies festus. ceterum omnis dies domini est, omnis hora, omne tempus habile baptismo: si de sollemnitate interest, de gratia nihil refert.

XX. Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris, ieiuniis et geniculationibus et peruigiliis orare oportet et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum, ut exponant etiam baptismum Iohannis: tinguebantur, inquit, confitentes delicta sua. nobis gratulandum est, si nunc publice confitemur iniquitates aut

5 solemnitate A. 10 si non publice ABab, si nunc p. I, *om.* non *Desid. Heraldus ad* Arnob. *adu. Natt.* II p. 86.

1. **et congregabo**] Jer. xxxi 8. For *in die festo* A.V. has '*and* with them the blind and the lame.' So Vulg. 'inter quos erunt caecus et claudus.' This is one of the cases where Tertullian either translated direct from LXX or used an O.L. version made from it, for LXX has *ἐν ἑορτῇ φάσεκ*. The mistake may perhaps be explained as follows: the LXX translator confused פִּסֵּחַ 'lame' with פֶּסַח 'passover,' and then guessed at the sense of עִוֵּר 'blind' (*καὶ τεκνοποιήσῃ*). See Swete *Introd. to the O.T. in Gk*, p. 259, and Streane *Double Text of Jeremiah*, as there referred to.

XX. *Fasting, prayer, and watchings are the right preparation for Baptism; and even after Baptism, when temptations may assail us, fasting is not out of place, except that we ought then to be in thankful mood. 'Pray, then, ye newly baptized, and in your prayers forget not Tertullian the sinner.'*

Fasting is often mentioned in conjunction with Prayer in N.T. even if we eliminate the passages where the word appears to have been brought in. It is twice (Acts xiii 1, xiv 23) mentioned in connexion with Ordination, but not in connexion with Baptism—though it may very naturally have been practised then also. The patristic evidence is abundant, and references will be found in Dodgson (note *t*, p. 280), Höfling (*op. cit.* p. 375), and elsewhere. Confession of sins is mentioned in connexion with the Baptism of John (Mt. iii 6, Mk i 5). Elsewhere in Tertullian renunciation (of the Devil, his pomps, and angels) is mentioned (*de Idol.* 6, *de Spect.* 4, *de Cult. Fem.* i 2, *de Cor.* 3), but this is passed over here.

8. **baptismum Iohannis**] Mt. iii 6, Mark i 5. The argument is *a fortiori*: 'If they confessed their sins before John's Baptism, how much more ought they to do so before Christian Baptism.' The sense of 'ut exponant' is 'that they may set forth the baptism of John'; Christian Baptism includes whatever was valuable in that of John.

10. **nunc**] is probably right. Tertullian speaks very severely in *de Paenit.* 6 and 10 of those who shrink from confessing their sins publicly, and the whole sense of this passage is against *non publice*. On the other hand, it may be urged that 'aut' would come more naturally after a negative. D'Alès, *La Théol. de Tert.* p. 332 note 1, argues strongly for a return to the reading 'non.'

turpitudines nostras. simul enim et de pristinis satisfacimus conflictatione carnis et spiritus et subsecuturis temptationibus munimenta praestruimus. uigilate et orate, inquit, ne incidatis in temptationem. et ideo, credo, temptati sunt, quoniam obdormierunt, ut adprehensum dominum destituerint, et qui cum eo perstiterit et gladio sit usus, ter etiam negauerit; nam et praecesserat dictum, neminem intemptatum regna caelestia consecuturum. ipsum dominum post lauacrum statim temptationes circumsteterunt quadraginta diebus ieiuniis functum. ergo et nos, dicet aliquis, a lauacro potius ieiunare oportet. et quis enim prohibet, nisi necessitas gaudii et gratulatio salutis? sed dominus, quantulum aestimo, de figura Israelis exprobrationem in ipsum retorsit. namque populus mare transgressus et in solitudinem translatus per quadraginta annos illic cum diuinis copiis aleretur, nihilominus uentris et gulae meminerat quam dei. deinde dominus post aquam segregatus in deserta quadraginta dierum ieiunia emensus ostendit non pane uiuere hominem dei, sed dei uerbo temptationesque plenitudini et immoderantiae uentris appositas abstinentia elidi. igitur benedicti, quos gratia dei expectat, cum de illo sanc-

3 monumenta A, munimenta Bab. 5 adpraehensum A. 6 praestitit A, perstiterit Bab. 10 protinus S. 11 'Ecquis *malim*' O. 12 quantulum aestimo ABa, quantum existimo Ub. 14 est A, et Ba, *om.* b. solitudinem IR, solitudine *cett.* 16 Proinde L. 17 deserta ABa, deserto Ub.

1. **satisfacimus**] It is a question whether this word as yet meant more than 'express contrition for, *or*, to.' Later, of course, it came to mean 'to make satisfaction to the Divine Justice,' and this legal view of the relation of the sinner to God has not been without serious drawbacks.

3. **uigilate**] Mt. xxvi 41.

4. **ideo**] is answered by the 'ut' in the next line. It was because they slept that they were tempted.

6. **gladio**] Mt. xxvi 51, Mark xiv 47, Lk. xxii 49, Joh. xviii 10.

7. **neminem**] A free rendering of Lk. xxii 28, 29.

10. **a lauacro**] 'immediately after baptism.'

12. **quantulum aestimo**] See on xvii 1. The self-depreciation is in Tertullian's manner, and is an argument for the reading in the text.

13. **retorsit**] 'cast upon him' (Dodgson) seems to miss the force of the preposition. Translate 'turned the reproach back on his own head,' and cf. *reuoluunt* p. 39. 13.

15. **uentris et gulae**] Cf. Numb. xi 4 sq.

17. **non pane**] Lk. iv 4.

tissimo lauacro noui natalis ascenditis et primas manus apud matrem cum fratribus aperitis, petite de patre, petite de domino, peculia gratiae, distributiones charismatum subiacere. petite, et accipietis, inquit. quaesistis enim et inuenistis; pulsastis et apertum est uobis. tantum oro, ut, cum petitis, etiam Tertulliani peccatoris memineritis.

3 domino + 'petite de spiritu sancto *fort.*' R. peculia gratia A, peculia, gratias Bab, peculia gratiae O. subiacere A, subiacente B, subiciiente ab, distributiones charismatum subiacere *ut glossam delend. censet Harnack.*

1. **lauacro noui natalis**] Tit. iii 5.

ib. **primas manus**] The importance of the first prayers after Baptism is emphasized in the *Passion of Perpetua* § 3 'et mihi spiritus dictauit non aliud petendum ab aqua nisi sufferentiam carnis.'

2. **matrem**] sc. the Church.

ib. **aperitis**] 'Orabant manibus expansis,' Rigalt. So *Apol.* 30, *adu. Iud.* 10, and often in the Fathers.

3. **peculia**] So 'peculia naturalia,' sc. animae, *de Anim.* 36.

ib. **charismatum**] 1 Cor. xii 4. Purists instead of this word used *donum*, *donatio*, *gratiae* (Koffmane *op. cit.* i 1 p. 16).

ib. **subiacere**] 'ask that...may be forthcoming': a gloss, in Harnack's opinion. Certainly the grammar is unusual—'subiacere' for 'ut subiaceant.' *Subiciente*, of Pamelius, would mean 'the Lord who supplieth' the 'distributiones charismatum.'

4. **petite**] Mt. vii 7, 8.

6. **etiam Tertulliani peccatoris**] With this should be compared the endings to *de Virg. Veland.* and *de Exhort. Cast.*—if the reading of the latter is correct. There are some features in Tertullian that repel, but our verdict on his character would be unjust, if it failed to take into account such utterances as these.

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(Reference is to page and line of this edition. Where a word occurs in a quotation, it is placed within inverted commas.)

II. INDEX LOCORUM.

(The references are to page and line of this edition. Where a quotation appears in more than one Gospel, reference is made to St Matthew.)

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